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THE HISTORY

OF

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE CITY AND TEMPLE OF JERUSALEM,

AND OF

THE RUIN AND DISPERSION OF THE JEWISH NATION.

Being a narrative of the calamities which befel the Jews within about forty years after their crucifixion of Jesus Christ. With a continuation of the calamitous History of their Persecutions, and Sufferings from the time of their dispersion to the present day. Shewing, (more clearly than has probably ever been done before,) how exactly the Predictions of Jesus Christ, with those of Moses, and several other Prophets, have been fulfilled relating to those people. With some Observations concerning the Restoration of the Jews, and their resettlement in Jerusalem and Judea; and some remarks respecting the Millennium.

WITH AN APPENDIX,

Containing a Concise statement of Christian Persecution by Pagans, Papists, and Protestants,



By THOMAS BROWN, M. E.

Author of the History of The Shakers, and The Ethereal Physician.



"I consider the Prophecies relative to the destruction of the Jewish nation, if there was nothing else to support christianity, as absolutely irresistible."—*Lord Erskine.*



TO WHICH IS ADDED,

Dr. PRIESTLEY's LETTERS TO THE JEWS,

AND AN

ANSWER BY DAVID LEVI,

A LEARNED JEW.

ALBANY:

PUBLISHED BY DR. THOMAS BROWN.

1825.

Northern District of }
New-York, } To wit:

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the nineteenth day of January, in the forty-ninth year of the Independence of the United States of America, A. D. 1825, THOMAS BROWN, M. E. of the said District, has deposited in this office the title of a book the right whereof he claims as author, in the words following, to wit:

"The History of the Destruction of the City and Temple of Jerusalem, and of the Ruin and Dispersion of the Jewish Nation, being a narrative of the calamities which befel the Jews within about forty years after their crucifixion of Jesus Christ. With a continuation of the calamitous History of their Persecutions and Sufferings from the time of their dispersion to the present day. Shewing, (more clearly than has probably ever been done before,) how exactly the Predictions of Jesus Christ, with those of Moses, and several other Prophets, have been fulfilled relating to those people. With some Observations concerning the Restoration of the Jews, and their resettlement in Jerusalem and Judea; and some remarks respecting the Millennium. With an Appendix, containing a Concise statement of Christian Persecution by Pagans, Papists, and Protestants. By Thomas Brown, M. E. Author of the History of the Shakers, and The Ethereal Physician. "I consider the Prophecies relative to the destruction of the Jewish nation, if there was nothing else to support christianity, as absolutely irresistible."—*Lord Erskine*. To which is added, Dr. Priestley's Letters to the Jews, and an Answer by David Levi, a learned Jew."

IN conformity to the act of the Congress of the United States, entitled "An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned;" and also, to the act entitled "An act supplementary to an act entitled 'An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned,' and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of Designing, Engraving, and Etching historical and other prints."

R. R. LANSING, Clerk
of the Northern District of New-York.

PREFACE.



It is truly observed by Cicero, that "history is conversant in great and memorable events." And there are none more so than those relating to the destruction of Jerusalem, and subversion of the Jewish state by the arms of the Romans, and in the history from the dispersion of those people to the present day. And certainly there is not any history, except the sacred, that more nearly concerns us; as it is that which relates to our faith in revealed religion. As it is by having a knowledge of the history of the Jews, who occupy so great a portion of the scriptures, that we have our faith strengthened by seeing the prophecies, respecting these people so exactly fulfilled, as is abundantly exemplified in this history. For if events have come to pass, exactly as long before foretold, and such events, as it is not possible that human wisdom could have foreseen; then this is proof of the operation of the spirit of God on the human mind, and of course must strengthen our faith in revelation, and also in the operation of the same spirit on the human mind for other purposes, even for that, the best of all, of changing the heart, and preparing us for an holy and happy state of existence.

It is observed by that pious writer Bishop Newton, "that one of the strongest evidences for the truth of revealed religion, is the fulfilment of prophecy; and a greater service could not be done to christianity, than to lay together the several predictions of scripture," as I have done in this work, respecting those relating to the Jews, "with their completion, to show how particularly things have been foretold, and how exactly fulfilled."

In short, if the numerous prophecies of the destruction of Jerusalem, and dispersion of the Jews have been fulfilled, then this is proof sufficient, even exclusive of any other, of the reality of revelation, and of the mission of Christ. And it may be seen in the following

history, that the predictions, not only of Christ, but as long before as those of Moses have been exactly fulfilled in numerous instances, and some of which it is not possible any human creature could have foreseen.—It is observed by the last mentioned writer, that, “it is next to impossible that any man who would read, and duly consider these prophecies, and the exact completion of them, and if he is a believer, not to be confirmed in the faith, and if he be an unbeliever not to be convinced.” “I don’t know,” says he, “what stronger proof can be given of a divine revelation than the spirit of prophecy,” and no stronger proof can be given of the truth of the spirit of prophecy, than the numerous events foretold, (and that transpired as narrated in this history,) in which so many contingencies, and I may say, according to human judgment improbabilities, and in some instances, almost impossibilities which human wisdom could never have foreseen, yet were so particularly foretold, and so exactly accomplished.

“Among all the evidences,” says a celebrated writer, “of divine revelation that have ever appeared to mankind, the fulfilment of prophecy, is one that most deserves our attention and regard.”

It has been observed that one principal cause of many believing in the divine mission of Christ, and the rapid spread of the Gospel, after the destruction of Jerusalem and temple, was by the people of that day seeing, or having ocular demonstration of the fulfilment of the prediction of Christ relating to that city and people.

Many eminent and learned men have employed their pens, in the illustration of the prophecies relating to the Jews; but the fruits of their labours are mostly contained in large and expensive books, particularly the history of the Jews from the destruction of their city and temple, and dispersion to the present day, being out of the reach of many to whom the subject might be equally interesting and edifying. For the use of

such, this work in a more accessible and familiar form is offered to the public. And in order that it may be better adapted for all classes of readers, I have endeavoured to write it in as plain and familiar style as I could; and have avoided all such words as the unlearned reader would not readily understand.

In the execution of this work, I can say with truth, that I have not been wanting in perseverance, industry, and attention, or care; and yet for all it is very difficult to avoid mistakes of every kind. How far I have approached to that degree of exactness, which is chargeable with no error, must be left to the judgment of those, whose better knowledge of history, may enable them to judge in this matter.

The authors I have consulted, in the compilation of this work, and to whom I am indebted, are the following:

Josephus's *Antiquities*, and *Wars of the Jews*. Josephus Ben Gorium's *History of the wars of the Jews*. *Basnage's History of the Jews*. *Universal History*, 20 vols. anonymous. *Mavor's Universal History*. *Ramsey's Universal History*. *Bossuet's Universal History*. *The destruction of Jerusalem*, a very short account, anonymous. *Thomas Ellwood's Sacred History*. *Bishop Newton on the Prophecies*. *Winchester's Lectures on the Prophecies*. *Whelpley's Lectures on ancient History*. *Morell's History of Rome*. *Brown's Dictionary of the Bible*. *Israel Vindicated*, anonymous.

Buck's Theological Dictionary. *Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History*. *Book of Martyrs*. *Fox's Martyrology*. *Evan's Sketches of different denominations*. *G. Bishop's New-England Judged*.

Several of these authors have been only consulted in order to have the various statements in the history as correct as possible.

I have in the course of this work added a number of explanatory notes, observations and reflections, which I trust will not be unacceptable to any reader.

After the history, I have added *Dr. Priestley's letters to the Jews*, and an answer by *David Levi*, a cele-

brated Jew, on account of their letters being applicable to this history, and containing the principal arguments between the christians and Jews, concerning Jesus Christ being the true Messiah, *and the reason which the Jews render for not believing in his divine mission*, which will, I think, with the history, be not only edifying but entertaining to the reader.

What a writer says of history is so exactly applicable to, and descriptive of this, that I am loth to pass by quoting of it.

“History opens the springs of human affairs ; the causes of the rise, grandeur, revolutions and fall of empires, illustrates the blessings of political union, and the misery of faction ; the dangers of unbridled liberty, and the mischiefs of despotic power. History displays the dealings of God with mankind. It calls upon us often to regard with awe, his darker judgments, and again it awakens the liveliest emotions of gratitude for his kind and benignant dispensations. It cultivates a sense of dependence on him ; strengthens our confidence in his benevolence ; and impresses us with a conviction of his justice.” The study of history improves the taste ; furnishes matter for edifying conversation, and reflection ; enlarges the range of thought ; strengthens and disciplines the mind.”

To which I may add, with particular reference to this. It shows the effect of sin and wickedness, and holds up a warning to shun the same. And very clearly and fully shows the effect of bigotry, prejudice, superstition, intolerance, ignorance, and cruelty. And the probability of its being useful, has greatly encouraged me in its prosecution. Besides to be useful, to do *something* for the good of mankind, I have always considered to be the duty of every intelligent being ; under these impressions I have ventured to offer this work to the publick, hoping it may tend to the moral and intellectual improvement of many of my fellow creatures.

T. B.

Albany, January 25th 1825.

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THE
HISTORY
OF
THE DESTRUCTION OF THE CITY AND
TEMPLE OF JERUSALEM,
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OF THE RUIN AND DISPERSION OF THE JEWISH
NATION, &c.
IN THREE PARTS.

PART I.

Of the predictions of Jesus Christ, relating to the destruction of Jerusalem, and its celebrated temple, and of the calamities that befell the Jews : Of their divisions among themselves, and civil wars ; and wars with the Romans, until Jerusalem was actually besieged by the Roman army. With the wonderful signs and prodigies, previous to those great events.—Page 11—54.



CHAPTER I.

Some account of the origin of Jerusalem ; its geographical situation. And a brief description of the city and temple.

BEFORE we enter upon our history and the illustrations of the prophecies of Christ, relating to the destruction of Jerusalem, &c. it may be satisfacto-

ry to the reader, and add considerably to the interest of many of the following pages, to give a brief history of Jerusalem and its geographical situation, and also a brief description of that renowned city and its temple.

Jerusalem was first called Jebus, because when the Israelites entered the land of Canaan, it was inhabited by the Jebusites. Some have thought it as ancient as the days of Melchizedeck, and to have been the capital of his kingdom, and it is very probable it was. It was the most noted city of Canaan, and it belonged to the Canaanites, and Adonizedeck was king of it, when Joshua took it, afterwards it was given to the tribe of Judah, on account of which, it was called, the land of Judea. Also the word Jews, is derived from the same name.

The Jebusites were not completely expelled till the reign of David. Under David and his son Solomon the city was greatly enlarged, and became the capital of Judea. In the 4th year of Solomon's reign, about 1011 before Christ, he began to build the temple. In the 7th month, in the year of the world 3001, about 1003 before Christ it was finished, and dedicated with great solemnity by Solomon, and the elders of Israel, and almost all the people being present. After which it stood 34 years without interruption or injury, when Shishak king of Egypt, carried off much of its treasures. But to be short, from this time to the coming of Christ, the temple had been several times plundered, and once entirely destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, and rebuilt by Cyrus king of Persia, and Jerusalem several times ravaged, and many thousands of Jews put to death, and carried into captivity. And lastly it was taken by Herod after an obstinate siege of six months, about 38 years before Christ.

Upon the entire reduction of the holy city, Herod, a stranger and an Idumean, ascended the throne of Judea. This unexpected event indicated that the sceptre was departing from Judah, which was one of the predicted

forerunners, or signs of the speedy appearance of the Messiah.

From the beginning of his reign to the final destruction of the temple, the high priests had no hereditary right ; but were set up and removed, at his pleasure, and that of his successors. He also destroyed the authority of the grand Sanhedrim. He built temples in the Grecian taste : erected statues for idolatrous worship ; consecrated a superb theatre and amphitheatre, to celebrate games in honour of Augustus ; adopted in his ordinary habits Roman manners and usages ; and was entirely devoted and subservient to the Romans.

Under his administration, the Roman luxury was introduced into Judea, accompanied with all the vices of that licentious people. Judea governed by Herod, groaned under all the corruption which might be expected from the authority and examples of a prince, who, though a Jew in outward profession, was in point of morals and practice, a contemner of all laws human and divine.

After Herod had amassed a prodigious treasure by his extortions and confiscations, he proposed to regain the favour of the Jewish nation, by rebuilding the temple in a more magnificent and splendid style. He began about 17 years before the birth of Christ, and employed upon it 18,000 men. In about nine years he finished the principal part of it ; but 46 years after, when our Saviour had begun his public ministry, it was not quite finished, and indeed till the beginning of the ruinous wars, hereafter narrated, they still was adding to the building.

This renowned city of Jerusalem (and temple) lies in nearly 32 degrees north latitude, and 35 and 36 east longitude from London. It is situated about 42 miles east of the Mediterranean sea ; 22 miles westward of Jordan, west, and west by north of the deserts of Arabia. Between 3 and 400 miles north east from Egypt, about 160 miles south by west from Lebanon and Syria. Above 1000 miles south east from Rome, about due east from South-Carolina, and about 5000 miles east by south, or S. S. E. from New-York.

The city of Jerusalem was in the country called Canaan, and sometimes Palestine, and Judea. And when we consider the smallness of the land which the children of Israel possessed, not being over 200 miles long and 80 wide,* it is almost unaccountable to us how the vast multitude of inhabitants, that formerly resided there could be supported by the produce of the country, besides supplying their neighbouring nations with vast quantities of provision.

According to the scriptures, the land of Canaan, was a land of wheat, and barley, and vines, and fig trees, and pomegranates; a land of oil, olive and honey; Deut. viii. 8. See also 2 Kings, xviii. 32. And according to the sacred text, Deut. xi. 12. "It was a land which Jehovah cared for, and his eyes were upon it for good, from the beginning of the year, even unto the end of the year." And says one, who has written largely on this subject, "Its astonishing fruitfulness must be ascribed to the immediate blessing of God more than to any other cause."

Many travellers are astonished when they behold the present reduced state of that country, and some do not believe that it ever yielded such abundance as the scriptures describe; sufficient to support, as some have calculated the number of inhabitants, particularly in the days of David and Solomon, to have been, nearly 9,000,000 of people. But no doubt that they who beheld its former glory, would have thought it very unlikely that such a fruitful land, would ever be reduced to its present state, or that, the renowned city of Jerusalem would be taken and become completely destroyed, but so it has been, but before we proceed with the account of its destruction, &c. we will take a view of the city and temple.

* It lies between 31 and 32, to 34 degrees north latitude, and in 35 and 36 of east longitude from London. Bounded by the Mediterranean sea on the west, Lebanon and Syria on the north, the desert of Arabia on the east, Paran on the south, and Egypt on the south west. But if we take in the whole extent of territory promised to them in dominion, according to Gen. xv. 18, and 21, and Exod. xxiii. 31. It comprehends all these countries which David reduced, Syria, Moab, Edon, &c. to Goshen in Egypt, and to the river Euphrates, &c.

The city of Jerusalem was built on two hills, opposite one to the other, and the valley was thick built with houses. Three celebrated walls surrounded the city on every side, except that which was deemed inaccessible, and there it was defended by one wall only. The most ancient of these walls was remarkable for its great strength, and was, moreover, erected on a rock, and fortified by sixty towers. On the middle wall there were fourteen towers only ; but on the third which was also distinguished by the extraordinary merit of its architecture, there were no less than ninety. The celebrated tower of Psephinos, (before which Titus at first encamped,) was erected on this latter wall, on the North West part of the city, and says Josephus, " it was admirable, for it was seventy cubits high," (or upwards of one hundred feet, a cubit being about eighteen inches,) and it had eight angles, from each of which was a most beautiful prospect. In clear weather, a spectator had from them a view of the Mediterranean Sea, (upwards of forty-two miles off,) and the whole extent of the Jewish dominions, with all the cities, towns, and villages around Jerusalem. Besides this there was three other towers of great magnitude, named Hippocos, Phasaël, and Mariamne. The two former, famed for their great strength and grandeur, were near ninety cubits high ; the latter with its valuable curiosities, beauty, and elegance, was about fifty-five cubits. They were all built of white marble, and so exquisite was the workmanship, that each of them appeared as if they had been hewn out of an immense single block of it.—Notwithstanding their great elevation, they yet must have appeared from the surrounding country, far loftier than they really were. The old wall, it has just been remarked, was built upon a high rock : but these towers were erected on the top of a hill, the summit of which was, itself, thirty cubits above the tops of the old wall. Such edifices, so situated, it is easy to conceive, must have given the city ■ very great degree of grandeur and

magnificence. Not far distant from these towers stood the royal palace, of singular beauty and elegance. Its pillars, porticoes, galleries, and apartments, were all incredibly costly, splendid, and superb ; while the groves, gardens, walks, fountains, and aqueducts, with which it was encompassed, formed the richest and most delightful scenery that can possibly be imagined. The situation of these structures was on the North side of Jerusalem. Its celebrated temple, and the strong fort of Antonia, were on the east side, directly opposite the Mount of Olives. This fort was built on a rock fifty cubits in height, and so steep as to be inaccessible on every side ; and to render it still more so, it was faced with thin slabs of marble, which being slippery, proved at once a defence and an ornament. In the midst of the fort stood the castle of Antonia, the interior parts of which, for grandeur, state, and convenience, resembled more a palace than a fortress. Viewed from a distance, it had the appearance of a tower, encompassed by four other towers, situated at the four angles of a square. Of these latter, three were fifty cubits high, and the fourth seventy cubits.

As to the temple itself, Josephus says, “ it was a work beyond all imagination,” the riches, grandeur, and elegance, of which, it is not in the power of language to describe. Whether we consider its architecture, its dimensions, its magnificence, its splendour, or the sacred purpose to which it was dedicated, it must equally be regarded as the most astonishing fabric that ever was constructed, or that the world ever saw. It was partly erected on a solid rock, which was originally steep on every side. The foundation of what was called the lower temple, was three hundred cubits in depth, and the stones of which they were composed, more than sixty feet in length, while the superstructure was of the whitest marble, containing stones forty-five cubits long, five cubits high, and nine cubits broad, (i. e. sixty-eight feet long, upwards of seven feet high, and nine

feet broad.* The circuit of the whole building was four furlongs, (i. e. half a mile,) its height one hundred cubits; one hundred and sixty pillars, each twenty seven feet high, ornamented and sustained the immense and ponderous edifice. In the front, spacious and lofty galleries, wainscotted with cedar, were supported by columns of white marble in uniform rows. "In short," says Josephus, "nothing could surpass even the exterior of this temple, for its elegance and curious workmanship." It was adorned with solid plates of gold that rivalled the beauty of the rising sun, and were but little less dazzling to the eye than the beams of that luminary. Of those parts of the building which were not gilt, when viewed from a distance, some say, appeared like pillars of snow, and some like mountains of white marble. The splendour of the interior parts of the temple, corresponded with its external magnificence. It was decorated and enriched by every thing that was costly and superb. In the lower temple was placed these sacred curiosities, the seven branched candlestick of pure gold, the table for the shew bread, and the altar of incense, the two latter of which were covered over with plates of the same metal. In the sanctuary were several doors, fifty-five cubits high, and sixteen in breadth, which were all likewise of gold. Before these doors hung a vail of the most beautiful Babylonian tapestry, composed of scarlet, blue, and purple, exquisitely interwoven, and wrought up to the highest degree of art. From the top of the ceiling depended branches and leaves of vines, and large clusters of grapes, hanging down five or six feet, all of gold, and of most admirable workmanship. In addition to these proofs of the splendour and riches of the temple, may be noticed its eastern gate of pure Corinthian brass, more esteemed than the precious metals—the golden folding doors of the chamber—the beautiful carved

* It is totally unaccountable to us in this day, how they raised such large stones in the building. We could not so much as move them, and withal to add to our astonishment, they were brought from a great distance.

work, gilding, and paintings of the galleries—the golden vessels, &c. of the sanctuary, the sacerdotal vestments of scarlet, violet, and purple—the vast wealth of the treasury—abundance of precious stones, and immense quantities of all kinds of costly spices and perfumes. In short, the most valuable and sumptuous of whatever nature, or art, or opulence could supply, all centered, and was enclosed within the consecrated walls of this magnificent and venerable temple.* But, as says Jo-

* It is said that this second temple was equal or rather superior to the first in magnificence. If we judge of the first only by the immense sums assigned by David and Solomon, to the building of it, and the number of men and time employed, we may conclude there is no exaggeration in the foregoing description, nor in the description of those who have written more lengthily on the subject: for to fully describe it, in every respect, would require a large volume, and some in giving a full description of it, have written volumes. Vallalpandus, a learned Jesuite, and famed architect, has published a splendid description of it in no less than three volumes folio. And Lightfoot too, and Prideaux, both famous writers, have given laboured descriptions of it. But that given in the Bible is most to be regarded and depended on.

According to the account there given of the preparations for the building of the temple by Solomon, were immense. David, before his death, assigned thereunto 108,000 talents of gold, and 1,017,000 talents of silver, both of which together, amounted to the enormous sum of about, £912,719,750 or £939,209,637 sterling: which in weight would be about 46,000 tons of gold and silver. And there was about 183,600 men, Hebrews and Canaanites, employed seven years and six months in building of it. And that after all the materials were got ready and brought to the spot. In doing which they were twelve years and six months; it being twenty years from the time that Solomon began to make preparations for the building.*

This temple after it had stood upwards of four hundred years, it was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and in about seventy years after, (about 520 years before Christ) it was rebuilt by order of Cyrus king of Persia, who had delivered the Jews from the Babylonish captivity.

It is said that this second temple was rather superior in magnificence to the first. Josephus says, that it was a work beyond all imagination. Religious donations and offerings had poured into this wonderful repository of precious stores from every part of the world during many ages past. And about twenty years before Christ, Herod began to rebuild and beautify the temple; and, for several years, employed upon it 18,000 workmen, who at last completed the stupendous design. This magnificent structure was on every side covered with solid plates of gold; and every ornament was bestowed on it that human art and genius could devise.

* It is altogether wonderful! What kind of a building would 46,000 tons of gold and silver, and 183,600 men, (Americans and Irish,) in seven years build in our day, and withall to have all things on the spot when they began. Though we must make some allowance on account of gold and silver being more plenty then, and not so much value as now. But reduce the amount to one half, and say 23,000 tons of gold and silver, about one third gold and two thirds silver, and as many men and the same time in building, it would be a marvellous building indeed, such an one as no man in this day ever saw.

sephus, "neither the riches, the antiquity, nor the fame thereof, now spread all over the world, nor the glory of religion did any thing to hinder it from being destroyed," as will be hereafter seen.

Having thus given a brief description of the city and temple, we shall now proceed to consider the predictions of our Saviour, relating to their destruction.



CHAPTER II.

The Prediction of Christ relating to the destruction of Jerusalem and Jewish Nation. Of the rise and end of false prophets and deceivers.

OF all the prophecies in the Old and New-Testament, there are none so remarkable, and which have been so clearly fulfilled as those delivered by our Saviour, relating to the ruin of Jerusalem and its temple, and the signal and awful calamities that every where befell the Jewish nation.

The chief of his predictions relative to these events, are recorded in Matt. xxiv., Mark xxiii., Luke xix. 41, to 44, and xxi. and xxiii. chap. 28, 29, 30. Some of which in a few years after his death began to be fulfilled, and the most weightiest of them in about forty years. The fulfilment of most of them were confined to his own nation, and the limits of his own country; while others appear to extend to all nations, and to every age.

On the Monday preceding the crucifixion of Christ, he made his public entry into the city of Jerusalem,

"All this Herod did," says Josephus, "to shew the greatness of his mind, and eternise his memory!" But at last, like many emperors and kings before, and cotemporary with him, he died a most miserable death; the consequence of a wicked sinful life, and his memory ever since held in detestation. Infinitely better would it be, to live and die a beggar, and die in the friendship and favour of God, than to live a life of ever so great power and splendour, and die as he did, with a guilty, condemned, tormented conscience.

amidst the acclamations of a great number of his disciples, who hailed him *king of Sion*; and with palm branches, the emblems of victory, in their hands, rejoiced and gave thanks to God, for all the mighty works they had seen, saying, "*Hosannah! blessed be the king that cometh in the name of the Lord! Peace in heaven, and glory in the highest.*"

But while the people were rejoicing, he was affected with sorrow, pity, and compassion for Jerusalem on account of the calamities which he foresaw would come upon it. "*He beheld the city and wept over it, saying, If thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes. For the days shall come upon thee, that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side; and shall lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee; and they shall not leave in thee one stone upon another; because thou knowest not the time of thy visitation.**"

On the Wednesday following, being only two days before his death, he went, for the last time, into the temple to teach the people; while he was thus employed, the high priest and the elders, the Herodians, Saducees, and Pharisees, one after another, came to him, and questioned him with subtlety, being desirous "to entangle him in his talk," to whom, with his accustomed dignity and wisdom he returned answers which carried conviction to their hearts, and at once silenced and astonished them. Then, turning to his disciples, and the whole multitude, he addressed to them a discourse of very extraordinary energy, in which, with most exquisite keenness of reproof, he exposed and condemned the cruelty and pride, the hypocrisy and sensuality of the Pharisees and Scribes. Having next foretold the persecution and barbarous treatment which his apostles would receive at their hands, he proceeded to denounce against Jerusalem the dreadful consequences of all their sins, which

* Luke xix. 42, 43, 44.

instead of decreasing, had been increasing for ages past, and that they would now soon fill up the full measure of their iniquity, and "*that upon them would come all the righteous blood shed upon the earth,*" which should be poured out upon the then existing generation, adding this tender exclamation, "*O Jerusalem, Jerusalem ! thou that killest the prophets and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not ! Behold ! your house is left unto you desolate ;* for I say unto you, ye shall not see me henceforth, till ye shall say, blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.*† So deeply was our Saviour affected, and so tenderly did he lament over the calamities which were coming upon his nation ! Such a generous and amiable pattern of a patriotic spirit, hath he left to his disciples ; and so contrary to truth is the insinuation of a noble writer,‡ "*that there is nothing in the gospels to recommend and encourage the love of one's country.*"

When the beloved Saviour uttered the above pathetic lamentation, he was in the temple, speaking to a mixed audience of his disciples and the multitude, and as he was departing out of the temple, his disciples came to him to shew him the buildings of the temple, intimating what a pitiable calamity they thought it, that so magnificent a structure should be destroyed. They spake, "*how it was adorned with goodly stones and gifts,*" and said unto him, "*Master see what manner of stones and buildings are here ! And Jesus said unto them, see ye not all these things ? Verily, I say unto you, there shall not be left here one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down.*"

When we consider the antiquity and sanctity of the temple, its stupendous fabric, its solidity, and the uncommon magnitude of the stones of which it was built, we

* Our Lord spoke this, as he was going out of it for the last time. Desolate, forsaken of God and his Christ, and sentenced to utter destruction.

† Matt. xxiii. 37. 39. ‡ Shaftsbury's Characteristics, vol. 1. p. 39.

may, in some measure, conceive of the amazement which this declaration of our Lord must have excited in the minds of his disciples. Nevertheless, this astonishing prediction, (as we shall see in the sequel) was literally fulfilled, and as Christ had foretold, even before that generation passed away to which he was speaking.

Our Lord now retired to the Mount of Olives, to which his disciples followed him, in order to make more particular inquiries relative to the time when the calamitous events, foretold by him, would come to pass. We have already said, that the Mount of Olives commanded a full view of Jerusalem, and the temple. No situation, therefore, could have been better adapted to give energy to a prediction, which related chiefly to their total ruin; and if we suppose, (and the supposition is very probable) that Jesus while in the act of speaking, pointed to the majestic and stupendous buildings whose destruction he foretold, every word which he then uttered must have been clothed with inexpressible sublimity, and derived from the circumstances of the surrounding scenery, a force and effect, which it is not possible adequately to conceive.

*"Tell us when shall these things be? And what shall be the sign when all these things shall be fulfilled?"** Such were the questions of the disciples, in answer to which Jesus condescended to give them a particular account of the several important events that would proceed, as well as of the prognostics which would announce the approaching desolation; including suitable directions for the regulation of their conduct under the various trials to which they were to be exposed. He commences with a caution; *"Take heed,"* said he, *"that no man deceive you, for many shall come in my name, saying, I am Christ, and shall deceive many."*

False Christs our Saviour mentions as the first sign of his coming, and with this he begins in all the Evangelists, and in all useth almost the very same words;

* Mark xiii. 4.

only in Luke xxi. 8. he addeth, "the time draweth near;" and within a little time this part of the prophecy began to be fulfilled. For very soon after our Saviour's decease, appeared Simon Magus, (as mentioned in Acts viii. 9, 10,) "and bewitched, or deceived the people of Samaria, giving out, that himself was some great one: to whom they all gave heed, from the least to the greatest, saying, This man is the great power of God." He boasted himself likewise among the Jews, as the Son of God. Of the same stamp and character was also Dositheus the Samaritan, who pretended that he was the Messiah foretold by Moses. About three years afterwards another Samaritan impostor appeared, the Jews conceiving an idea that the Messiah, their great deliverer, was now come, an armed multitude assembled under him, but Pilate speedily defeated them, and slew their chief.

About twelve years after the ascension of Christ, a certain impostor, named Theudas persuaded a great multitude, with their best effects to follow him to the river Jordan; for he said that he was a prophet, and promised to divide the river for their passage, and saying these things, saith Josephus, he deceived many. But Fadus sent a troop of horse against them, who, falling unexpectedly upon them, killed many, and made many prisoners; and having taken Theudas himself alive, they cut off his head, and brought it to Jerusalem. In a few years afterwards in the reign of Nero, and under the government of Felix, (who was governor of Jerusalem,) deceivers rose up almost daily, and persuaded the people to follow them, into the wilderness or desert,* assuring them that they should behold signs and wonders performed by the Almighty. Of these Felix apprehended many and put them to death.

Felix who had been advanced from servitude to rank and power, exercised the tyranny of an eastern prince. His rapine and cruelty excited a spirit of revolt; while

* 'Tis for this reason, that the desert was specified in the predictions of our Lord.

the false prophets were continually encouraging sedition. The people were massacred by the troops of Felix for following these deceivers.

About this period, (A. D. 55,) a certain Egyptian Jew, by the name of Felix, pretending to be a prophet, entered Judea with a numerous banditti, and having collected about thirty thousand followers, led them to the Mount of Olives, and promised to deliver them from under the government of the Romans. Felix the Roman governor, apprehending this to be the beginning of a revolt, attacked them, slew four hundred of them and dispersed the rest, but the Egyptian impostor effected his escape. In the time of Percius Festus, (A. D. 60,) who had succeeded Felix in the government, another distinguished impostor, seduced the people by promising them deliverance from the Romans, if they would follow him, but Festus sent out an armed force, which soon destroyed both the deceiver and his followers.

Never did there appear so many false prophets, as the times that succeeded the death of our Saviour, especially during the Jewish war, and under the reign of Nero. Judea was not the only province exposed to these delusions, they were common in the whole empire. There was not any one time wherein history informs us of so great a number of these impostors, who pretended to tell things to come, and to "*shew, (or pretend to shew,) great signs and wonders.*" The principal cause of which was, that about this period, there was a general expectation, through the eastern world, of the advent of some illustrious prophet and deliverer, who should change the aspect of human affairs. The Jews, in particular, eagerly anticipated the coming of the promised Messiah,* as the time predicted by Daniel, for his manifestation, was arrived. Devout persons waited day and night for the consolation of Israel,† and the whole nation groaning under the Roman yoke,

* Little did they expect one to deliver them from the yoke and bondage of sin, and prepare them for an admittance into that Jerusalem "*city, whose builder and maker is God.*"

† Luke ii. 25.

expecting their deliverer with the most anxious impatience. But contrariwise impostors and pretended prophets, continually and fatally deceived the Jews, and fulfilled the predictions of Jesus Christ.

Respecting the readiness of the Jews to receive these false prophets, how true were these sayings of the blessed Jesus, "I am come in my Father's name and ye receive me not ; if another shall come in his own name, him ye will receive."



CHAPTER III.

Of the persecution of the disciples of Christ as he foretold. And of the universal spread of the Gospel before the destruction of Jerusalem.

FALSE prophets and deceivers, that should arise, was the first sign mentioned by Christ : The next that was to take place before the full completion of his other predictions, was the persecution of his disciples.

He says, "*But before all these things,*" that is, "*wars and rumours of wars, nation against nation,*" &c. "*they shall lay their hands on you and persecute you, delivering you up to the Synagogues, and into prisons, being brought before kings and rulers for my name's sake.* And ye shall be beaten.† And some of you they shall cause to be put to death.*"‡

In the very infancy of the christian church, those unmerited and unprovoked cruelties, began to be fulfilled. But on this subject I need not enlarge, as the acts of the apostles, or the New-Testament is (or should be,) in the hands of every one. Which informs us that the followers of Christ, like their divine Master, were despised, rejected, and treated with the utmost contempt. Some were delivered to councils as Peter and John,

* Luke xxi. 12

† Mark xiii. 9.

‡ Luke xxi. 16.

some were brought before rulers and kings, as Paul before Gallia, Felix, Festes, and Agrippa. Some were beaten as Paul and Silas. Some were put to death as Stephen and James. And if we look further we have a melancholy proof of the truth of this prediction, in the persecution under Nero in which, besides thousands of other christians, fell St. Peter and Paul, and was, as Tertulian calleth it, a war against the very name.— Though a man was possessed of every human virtue, yet it was enough if he was a christian ; so true was our Saviour's words, that they should be hated of all nations for his name sake.

But notwithstanding the persecutions and calamities of the christians, there was to be an universal publication of the gospel before the destruction of Jerusalem. *“And the gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world, for a witness unto all nations, and then shall the end come.”* And then shall the destruction of Jerusalem, and the end of the Jewish dispensation come to pass. Of the fulfilment of this prediction, the epistles of St. Paul, addressed to the christians at Rome, Corinth, Galatia, Ephesus, Philippi, Colosse, Thessalonica ; and those of Peter to such as resided in Pontus, Capadocia and Bethynia, are sufficient proofs that the gospel had been preached in all those places ; for neither of these apostles were living when the Jewish war commenced. St. Paul in his epistle to the Romans, informs them that, “their faith was spoken of throughout the world.” And in that to the Colossians he observes, that the gospel had been preached to every creature under heaven. That is, most extensively. Clement, who was a fellow labourer with the apostle, relates of him that, “he taught the whole world righteousness, travelling from the east westward, to the borders of the ocean.” Eusebius says that, “the apostles preached the gospel in all the world,” (that is in all the world known at that time,) “and some of them passed beyond the bounds of the ocean,” (which was, to them the wes-

tern ocean, east of England,) "and visited the Britannic isles,"* and so says Theodoret also.

"It appeared," says Bishop Newton, "from the writers of the history of the church, that before the destruction of Jerusalem, the gospel was not only preached in the Lesser Asia, Greece, and Italy, the great theatres of action then in the world, but was likewise propagated as far northward as Scythia, as far southward as Ethiopia, as far eastward as Pathia and India, as far westward as Spain and Britain." Our ancestors of this Island seem to have laid as remote from the scene of our Saviour's actions as almost any nation, and were a rough inhospitable people, as unlikely to receive so civilized an institution as any people, whatever. But yet there is absolute certainty, that christianity was planted here in this country, in the days of the apostles, and probably by St. Simeon and St. Paul, before the destruction of Jerusalem. And Tacitus asserts, "that the christian religion which arose in Judea, spread over many parts of the world, and extended to Rome, where the professors of it as early as the times of Nero, amounted to vast multitudes," insomuch that their numbers excited the jealousy of the government, and vast numbers were put to death.

Thus completely was fulfilled a prediction, that was the most unlikely, and to all human appearances impossible. To the accomplishment of which every kind of impediment was incessantly opposed. The reputed son of a mechanic, a carpenter, instructs a few simple fishermen in a new religion, a religion of self enials, sacrifices and sufferings, with no promise of any worldly reward, yet he tells them, in about forty years it should spread over all the world. It spreads accordingly; and in defiance of the hatred and opposition of the Jews, and all the authorities, power, and opposition of

* It is admitted that the phrases, "all the world," "every creature," &c. are hyperbolic; but then, taken in their connection, they evidently import no more than the universality of the preaching and spread of the gospel, previously to the destruction of Jerusalem.

the Gentiles : it became established within that period, in all the countries into which it penetrated. Can any one doubt but that the prediction and its fulfilment were equally divine.



CHAPTER IV.

Of Earthquakes, Famines, and Pestilence.

“*And great earthquakes shall be in divers places.*” Of these significant emblems of political commotions, there occurred several, and as Jesus predicted, “*in divers places.*” In the reign of Claudius, there was one at Rome, and another at Apamea in Syria, where many Jews resided. The earthquake at the latter place was so destructive, that the emperor in order to relieve the distresses of the inhabitants, remitted its tribute for five years. Both these earthquakes are recorded by Tacitus. There was also one in the same reign in Crete, mentioned by Philostratus in his life of Apollonius, and who says that there were others, “at Smyrna, Miletus, Chios and Samos ; in all which places Jews had settled. In the reign of Nero there was an earthquake at Laodicea, which city was nearly destroyed. It is likewise mentioned by Eusebius and Orosius that Hierapolis and Colosses, as well as Laodicea, were overthrown by an earthquake.

There was also one in Campania, (of which Tacitus and Seneca gives an account,) and another at Rome, in the reign of Galba, recorded by Suetonius, and that in Judea, mentioned by Josephus, which happened a short time before the siege commenced. In the night there broke out a most dreadful tempest, and violent strong winds, with the most vehement showers, and continual lightnings, and dreadful thunderings, and prodigious bellowings of the shaken earth ; “and it was manifest,” he saith, “that the system of the world was convulsed

for the destruction of men ; and any one might easily conjecture, that these were signs of uncommon events.

Our Saviour also predicted "famines." Of these the principal was that which Agabus foretold would happen in the days of Claudius, as related in the acts of the Apostles. It began in the fourth year of his reign, and was of long continuance. It extended through Greece, and even into Italy, but was most severely felt at Jerusalem, where many perished in consequence of it. This famine is recorded by Josephus also, who relates that an assaron of corn was sold for five drachms, that is about 3 pts. and a half for 3s. 3d. It is likewise noticed by some other writers. To alleviate this terrible calamity, Helena, queen of Adiabena, who was at that time in Jerusalem, ordered large supplies of grain to be sent from Alexandria ; and Izatos her son, consigned vast sums to the governors of Jerusalem, to be applied to the relief of the indigent sufferers. The Gentile christians residing in foreign countries, also sent, by the means of St. Paul, liberal contributions to relieve the distresses of their brethren. Dion Cassius relates that there was likewise a famine in the first year of Claudius, (a Roman emperor,) which prevailed at Rome, and in other parts of Italy, in consequence of which many died ; and in the 11th year of the same emperor, there was another mentioned by Eusebius. To these may be added those that afflicted the inhabitants of several of the cities of Galilee and Judea, which were besieged and taken as all the cities round about Jerusalem were, before Jerusalem was ; where the climax of national misery centered, arising from famine and every other cause, and where the destruction of the Jews was so awfully completed.

Next our Saviour mentions, which shall also take place, is "Pestilence," which are the usual attendants on famine.

It may therefore reasonably be expected that this calamity was in consequence of the famines that have been mentioned ; two accounts are recorded before the

commencement of the Jewish war. The first took place at Babylon about A. D. 40, and raged so much that a great many Jews fled from that city to Seleucia. The other happened at Rome, in the year of Christ 65, and carried off multitudes. Both Tacitus and Suetonius have given an account that similar calamities prevailed, about this time, in various other parts of the Roman empire. After Jerusalem was surrounded by the army of Titus, pestilential diseases soon made their appearance in the city, to aggravate the miseries, and increase the horrors of the siege, which were partly occasioned by the immense multitudes which were crowded together in the city, and by the putrid effluvia which arose from the unburied dead, and from the prevalence of the famine. To conclude this subject, history bears testimony, that earthquakes, famines, and pestilence had never been more frequent, nor more remarkable than they were in those times.



CHAPTER V.

Of strange signs and sights seen previous to the destruction of Jerusalem.

THE following terrific sights and prodigies that were seen, foreboding some terrible calamity, fulfilled the awful prediction of our Saviour, who said, "and fearful sights and great signs shall there be from heaven."* The fulfilment of which, I shall give in the words of Josephus. He says, "these miserable people, were ready to believe impostors, but would not believe or regard certain tokens and signs of the ruin of their city, but were blinded, not having eyes to see what God foreshewed them.

There was a comet in the form of a fiery sword, which for a year hung over the city. At another time before

* Luke xxi. 11.

the revolt and war, the people being gathered together to the feast of unleavened bread, (which was the 8th of April,) at the 9th hour of the night, there was so much light about the altar and the temple, as though it had been bright day; and it remained half an hour. This the ignorant people interpreted as a good sign, but they who were skilful in holy scripture, presently judged what would ensue before it came to pass. At the same festival, a cow led by the priest to be sacrificed at the altar, brought forth a lamb in the middle of the temple.* And the inner gate of the temple, on the east side, which was of solid brass and very heavy, and which at night took always at least twenty men to shut it, and was fastened with strong bars and bolts, the ends whereof went into mortice holes in the stones on either side the door, (the aforesaid stones being on each side one whole stone,) was seen at about midnight to open of its own accord, which being related to the magistrate, by the keepers of the temple, he himself came thither, and it could hardly be shut again. This also, to the ignorant, seemed a good sign, as if God opened to them his blessings, but the wiser sort judged that the opening of the gate foretold, that the city should be given to their enemies, and that the sign signified desolation. A little after the feast days, on the one-and-twentieth day of May, there was seen a vision beyond all belief; and perhaps, that which I am to recount might seem a fable, if some were not now alive that beheld it, and if that calamity foretold had not ensued. Before the setting of the sun there were seen in the air, all over the country,

* A certain writer says, "such is the strange account given by the historian. Some may regard it as a Grecian fable, while others may think that they discern in this prodigy a miraculous rebuke of Jewish infidelity and impiety, for rejecting that antitypical Lamb, who had offered Himself as an atonement, "once for all," and who by thus completely fulfilling their design, had virtually abrogated the Levitical sacrifices. However this may be, the circumstances of the prodigy are remarkable. It did not occur in an obscure part of the city, but in the temple; not at an ordinary time, but at the passover, the season of our Lord's crucifixion—in the presence, not of the vulgar only, but of the high priests and their attendants, and when they were leading the sacrifice to the altar.

chariots and armies, fighting in the clouds and begirting the city ; and at the feast of pentecost, at night, as the priests were going into the inner temple as usual to attend their service, at first felt the place to move and tremble ; and then heard a voice as of a multitude, “ *Let us depart hence, let us depart.*”*

And that which was the most wonderful of all, one Jesus, an ordinary country fellow, four years before the war began, (A. D. 62) and when the city was in peace and plenty, came to the feast of tabernacles, in the temple at Jerusalem, suddenly began to cry out, and running up and down the streets : “ *a voice from the east, a voice from the west, a voice from the four winds, a voice against Jerusalem and the temple, a voice against men and women newly married ; a voice against all this people ;* and thus crying night and day, he went about all the streets of the city. Some of the best quality not able to endure words of so ill presage, caused him to be taken and severely scourged, which he suffered without speaking the least word to defend himself, or to complain of so hard treatment ; but he continuing with a mournful voice, “ *wo, wo to Jerusalem.*” The magistrates then thinking, (as indeed it was,) that the man spake thus through some divine motive, led him to *Albinus*, general of the Romans, where being beaten till his bones appeared,† he never entreated nor wept, but as well as he could, with a mournful voice he cried, *wo, wo to Jerusalem.* Albinus asked him what he was, and whence and why he said so ; but to every question, and every lash, he made no answer, but *wo to Jerusalem.* Albinus thinking him out of his wits, suffered him to depart. And he ceased not to bewail the misery of Jerusalem ; after which till the time of

* It is said that almost daily strange things, and new prodigies were seen and heard in the temple ; insomuch that a famous Rabbin, (a Jewish priest,) cried out one day, “ O temple, temple ! what is it that moves thee, and wherefore dost thou make thyself afraid.”

† They did very wrong to beat and hurt the poor man ; no doubt but that he was obliged to say and act as he did ; but the wicked have no mercy. It is said that even “ *the tender mercies of the wicked are cruelty.*”

the war, this man was never heard to speak to any one,* but without ceasing he cried, wo, wo to Jerusalem.

Neither did he ever curse any one, though every day some one or other did beat him ; nor did he ever thank any one that offered him meat, or used him kindly ; all that he spake to any man was this heavy prophecy.— He went crying mostly on holydays ; doing so continually for the space of seven years and five months ; and his voice never waxed hoarse nor weary, till in the time of the last siege, (when Jerusalem was surrounded by the Roman army,) beholding what he foretold them, he ceased for a while ; and thence once again upon the walls, about the city, with a loud voice he cried, Wo, Wo to the city, temple, and people, and lastly he said, Wo also to myself. Which words were no sooner uttered, than a stone, shot from an engine, smote him, and so he yielded up the ghost, lamenting them all.† These were indeed fearful signs, and great sights, and there is not a more creditable historian than the one who relates them, and who appeals to the testimony of those who saw and heard them.

Tacitus, the Roman historian, also gives a summary account of the same occurrences. He saith that there happened several prodigies, armies were seen engaging in the heavens, arms were seen glittering, and the temple shone as with lightning from the clouds, the doors of the temple opened suddenly, and a voice greater than human, was heard, that the gods were departing, and likewise a great motion of their departing. Dr.

* It may be, as they had disregarded all that the prophets, Christ and his apostles had said, and instead of mending, they had now arrived to a greater height of wickedness than ever before ; this poor man, the last prophet to the Jews, had nothing to say but to cry woes against them. For they appear to have been so bent on their own ruin, that nothing he could have said, would have answered any purpose.

† This prophet of the woes of Jerusalem, was called Jesus. And as those ungrateful wretches had rejected a Jesus, who proclaimed, and offered them salvation and peace, it seemed as if God sent them another Jesus, who had nothing to proclaim to them, but woes of their approaching ruin. And his crying wo also to myself, and by its being immediately verified, it appears as if that was to shew, so certain would be fully verified his woes to Jerusalem.

Jortin's remark is very pertinent,* "if Christ had not expressly foretold this; many who give little heed to portents, and who know that historians have been too credulous in that point, would have suspected that Josephus exaggerated, and that Tacitus was misinformed; but as the testimony of Josephus and Tacitus, confirm the prediction of Christ, so the predictions of Christ confirms the wonders recorded, by those historians." "But even allowing," says Newton, "all that incredulity can urge, that in the great calamities of war, and famine, and pestilence, the people always grow superstitious, and are struck with religious panics; that they see nothing but prodigies and portents, which in happier seasons are overlooked; that some of those appear to be formed in imitation of the Greek and Roman historians, as particularly the cow's bringing forth a lamb;—that armies fighting in the clouds, seen in calamitous times in all ages and countries, are nothing more than meteors, such as the aurora borealis;—in short, allowing that some of these prodigies were feigned, and others were exaggerated, yet the prediction of them is not less divine on that account.

"Whether they were supernatural, or the fictions only of a disordered imagination, yet they were believed as realities, and had all the effect of realities, and were equally worthy to be made the subject of prophecy.—Fearful sights and great signs from heaven they certainly were, as much as if they had been created on purpose to astonish the earth."

But notwithstanding all these terrible calamities, Christ exhorts his disciples not to be *troubled*. The Jews may be under dreadful apprehensions, "but *be ye not troubled*."†

* Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. i. p. 41.

† "Whoso putteth his trust in the Lord shall be safe." "But the wicked are like the troubled sea, whose waters cast up mire and dirt."

CHAPTER VI.

Of wars and rumours of wars, &c. Continued till Jerusalem was besieged by the Roman army under Vespasian.

SOME of the most weightiest part of the predictions of Christ, which soon began to be fulfilled, are the following: "*And ye shall hear of wars, and rumours of wars: See that ye be not troubled; for all these things must come to pass, but the end,*" (i. e. of the destruction of Jerusalem,) "*is not yet.*" "*For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom.*"*

And thus it was, for according to all the historians of those times, wars and rumours of wars began soon after they crucified Christ, and continued until the destruction of Jerusalem, that the whole interval is an illustration of this prophecy. Upwards of one hundred and fifty of the folio pages of Josephus, which gives the history of this period of time, are every where stained with blood. To relate the particulars would be to transcribe great part of his history of the Jewish wars. To condense the most interesting part, and particularize the most important instances, will be all sufficient for the purpose, in this work, intended.

About four years after the death of Christ, a war broke out between Herod and Aretas king of Arabia, in which the army of Herod was cut off. This was already kingdom arising against kingdom."—Wars are usually preceded by rumours. About this time the Roman emperor Caligula, who claimed divine honours, ordered his statue to be placed in the temple of Jeru-

* The other part of the prophecies, viz: the persecution of the disciples, spread of the Gospel, earthquakes, famines, and pestilence, though standing in the Gospels succeeding the above. Yet have been heretofore, or first noticed. In order that the history of the wars, and shewing the fulfilment of the prediction of Christ respecting them, might be entire, or connected from the first war after his crucifixion, to the last, or to the final destruction of Jerusalem and dispersion of the nation.

saalem, which the Jews refused to suffer, and persisted in their refusal, and having therefore reason to apprehend a war from the Romans, were in such consternation that they omitted even the tilling of their lands, for the emperor had ordered an army raised to enforce obedience to his impious injunction, but by the interference of Petronius, the governor, and Agrippa, in behalf of the Jews. Caligula reluctantly relinquished his design, and the storm blew over, and the fears of the Jews, of Caligula renewing his impious attempt were dissipated by his timely death.*

About this time a great number of Jews, on account of a pestilence which raged at Babylon, removed from that city to Selucia, where the Greeks and Syrians rose against them, and destroyed of that devoted people more than fifty thousand. "The extent of this slaughter," says Josephus, "had no parallel in any former period of their history."

Again, about five years after this dreadful massacre, there happened a severe contest between the Jews at Perea, and the Philadelphians, respecting the limits of a city, called Mia, in which many of the Jews were slain.

This was "nation rising against nation." Four years afterwards, (under Cumanus,) an indignity was offered to the Jews, within the precincts of the temple by a Roman soldier, which the Jews violently resisted; but, upon the approach of the Romans in great force, their terror was great, and so disorderly and sudden their flight, that not less than ten thousand Jews were trodden to death in the streets. This again was "nation rising against nation."

Four years more had not expired, before the Jews made war against the Samaritans, and ravaged their

* The governors of Judea, appointed by the Romans, or by their emperor, continually afflicted and insulted the poor Jews, by exhibiting a marked contempt for their religion and law. Even Pontius Pilate, during his administration, took every occasion of introducing his standards, with images, pictures, consecrated shields, &c. into the city. To all which the Jews were opposed, according to the law of Moses which forbade images. Complaints being made of the rapine and tyranny of Pilate, he was superseded, and perished by suicide.

country. The people of Samaria had murdered several Galileans, who were going up to Jerusalem to keep the passover, and the Jews thus revenged the murder. In the following year, (A. D. 65.) Claudius Felix, succeeded Cumanus in the government of Judea, under whom the Jewish affairs went still from bad to worse ! And to make still worse, the land swarmed with robbers and banditti ; and within with false prophets, (as before stated,) who were still blowing the coals of discontent and sedition ; so that there passed scarcely a day in which there was not some dreadful execution made upon some of these miscreants. Among these false prophets and pretended Saviours, by whom that infatuated nation was seduced, there was at this time that singular one, that came from Egypt, mentioned page 22.

Porteus Festus succeeded Felix, who upon his coming into the government, found the nation in the same distressed condition, and, which was still worse, as the very priesthood had began a civil war among themselves ever since the last year of Felix's government. At the commencement of his administration, the banditti and assassins were spreading terror through Jerusalem.—Eighteen thousand men having been discharged at once who had been employed in rebuilding the temple,* as mentioned in a note page 16. Most of these men having no employ joined themselves with these banditti, for fear of starving ; these wretches with poignards under their garments, used to stab all those whom they judged to be opposed to them. The frequency of these assassinations excited universal consternation. Festus punished those wretches with the greatest severity ; and exerted himself to the uttermost, to suppress the civil discords, which raged among the priests and others, and filled the country and city with blood.

The suppression of these different parties, and the se-

* Josephus says that the work at the temple was continued till the beginning of the Jewish wars. Hence that saying of the Jews to Christ, " forty and six years hath this temple been *hitherto* a building." For so says the writers of the universal history, " it ought to read."

vere examples he made of their leaders, impostors, and false prophets, and the most stiring and mutinous of the rebels, was what took up the greatest part of his time and labour during his short government.

Festes dying towards the latter end of the year, A. D. 62. Nero nominated Albinus to succeed him.— He burdened the nation with extraordinary taxes, and became the encourager of all kinds of villany. The most good he did, was in endeavouring to suppress the robbers and banditti, who were now grown more numerous and bolder than ever.

After two years government he was recalled by Nero, and was succeeded by Gessius Florus, the last and worse governor Judea ever had. Josephus seems at a loss for words bad enough to describe him by, or a monster to compare him to. The governors before him had been bad enough, but now the Jews, think them good, compared to this one. His whole behaviour was so openly wicked, that he was looked upon by the Jews more like a bloody executioner sent to butcher, than a magistrate to govern.* He used his utmost exertions to provoke the Jews to open rebellion ! So that he might have the brutal pleasure of seeing them destroy each other, or prevent his injustice, oppressions, murders, and other hellish works being inquired into, or that public confusion, might prevent complaints against his iniquitous conduct. He succeeded too well, a war was kindled accordingly through his means ; which ended with the total ruin of the Jewish nation.— This great event so plainly foretold by Christ and so exactly fulfilled, abounds with such dreadful murders, and cruelties, that they are enough to fill a reader with horror, and pity.

Jerusalem being thus distracted within and without, and groaning now more than ever under a tyrant, who

* The poor Jews were used by their governors, in many respects exceedingly ill. Never were a people under heaven treated with more abuse and injustice.

It was now that the countryman, went about crying, we to Jerusalem, as heretofore related.

openly promoted those mischiefs, he should have remedied ; many of the opulent Jews forsook Jerusalem to seek an asylum among foreign nations ; whilst upwards of three hundred thousand of those who remained, applied to Cestius Gallius, the then governor of Syria, who was at Jerusalem, at the passover, and besought him to pity their wretched condition, and free them from the tyranny of a man, who was ruining their country. Florus who was present when these complaints were entered against him ; and Cestius, instead of making a strict enquiry into his conduct, dismissed them with a bare promise, that Florus should behave better for the future ; and set himself about computing the number of Jews in Jerusalem, in order to send an account to Nero. By computation the whole amounted to upwards of two million.

Soon after this, a contest which had long subsisted between the Jews and Syrians, about the city of Cæsarea,* which had been kept in suspense ever since the time of Felix,† being at length decided in favour of the Syrians ; the decree was no sooner brought to Judea, but, as if it had been agreed on, that this should be the signal for a revolt, the Jews every where took up arms, and thus began the fatal war in the second year of Florus's government, in the twelfth of Nero's reign, and in the sixty-ninth year from the nativity of Christ, about thirty-five years after he predicted that there should be wars and rumours of wars, and nation against nation.

Agrippa, who was at this time at Jerusalem, at the beginning of the revolt, strove in vain to assuage them by an elaborate speech, (as well as by other proper means.)

* Seventy-five miles North West of Jerusalem.

† This contest, in which the Jews maintained that city, belonged to them, because it had been built by Herod ; and the Syrians pretended, that it had always been considered a Greek city, and as proof, they said, even Herod had reared temples, and statues in it, grew to such an height, that both parties took up arms against each other. Felix at length put an end to it for a time, by sending some of the chiefs of each to Rome to plead their cause before Nero the emperor, where it hung in suspense till this time, when Nero decided it in such a manner as caused this insurrection.

He enlarged on the vast extent and grandeur of the Roman Empire : the mighty nations that had been subdued by its all conquering arms ; the folly and infatuation of the Jews in opposing the masters of the world ; and concluded by a pathetic exhortation to them, to lay down their arms, and arrest the ruinous consequences of rebellion, but apparently bent on their own ruin, his entreaties and remonstrances, were alike disregarded, and for thus giving them good advice, he was compelled to provide for his own safety by quitting the city.

Intestine wars now raged with irresistible fury, in every part of this unhappy province. Nothing was now to be seen or heard of, but robberies, murders,* and all manner of cruelties ; cities and villages filled with dead bodies of all ages, sexes, and quality, even down to sucking babes. And though the Jews were every where the sufferers, yet did not their rage abate in the least. On their part, they neither spared Syrians nor Romans, but retaliated their cruelties wherever they got the better of them, for which vast numbers of their peaceful brethren were butchered in their places of abode. The Cesareans fell suddenly on the Jews of their city, and massacred twenty thousand, and two thousand at Ptolamais. And the flame, after all this destruction was not in the least quenched, it spread its destructive rage, wherever the Jews and Syrians dwelt together in the same place, throughout every city, town, and village, animosity and slaughter prevailed. At Damascus,† Tyre, Ascalon, Gadara, Sythopolis, and several other places, the carnage was dreadful. At the first of those cities ten thousand were slain in an hour. And at Scythopolis thirteen thousand treacherously in one night. At Alexandria the Jews aggrieved by the oppression of the Romans, rose against them, but the

* What a wonderful retaliation do we in this history behold. The Jews had preferred a murderer to Christ, they crucified him between two thieves. And now Jerusalem and Judea is overrun with thieves and murderers ! !

† One hundred and sixty miles north of Jerusalem.

Romans overcome them, and slew twenty thousand persons, sparing neither infants nor the aged.

By this time, (about A. D. 68,) the revolted Jews had carried their conquest beyond Jordan, and had taken the fortress of Macharon, and Cyprus; this last they rased to the ground, after having put all the Romans to the sword.

Cestius Gallus, president of Syria, who had hitherto kept himself an idle spectator to all these devastations, began to think it high time to bestir himself. He marched with a powerful army into Judea, to quell the rebellious Jews, and he burned all the towns and villages in his way, and slaughtered the inhabitants. He burnt the beautiful city of Joppa,* and slew the inhabitants eight thousand four hundred. He laid waste the district of Narbatene; and sending an army into Galilee, slew there two thousand of the seditious Jews. He then burnt the city of Lydda, (32 miles north from Jerusalem,) and after having defeated the Jews, he encamped at length at the distance of about one mile from Jerusalem. The people in the city no sooner heard of his approach, and though on the sabbath, armed themselves, and came out against him with such fury, that they had in all likelihood defeated him, had not his foot been timely secured by his cavalry. He lost above five hundred men, and the Jews but twenty-two. The latter having seized all the passes round about: Cestius was forced to stay three days near Bethoron, (a few miles east of Jerusalem, where Agrippa joined him, and assisted him with his troops. Agrippa tried once more to appease the rebellious Jews, by sending two of his chief captains to offer them pardon, and proposals of peace; but the revolters, instead of hearkening to their proposals, were so mean as to kill one of them, and wounded the other who narrowly escaped with his life. This base action, so contrary to the laws and

* It was a beautiful sea port town, of the Mediterranean, about thirty four miles North West of Jerusalem, from which it was seen, as it stood on a hill.

rules of war, in the treatment of ambassadors, was highly condemned by the more moderate Jews, and which caused a dissension between them, which Cestius failed not to improve, by advancing with his whole army suddenly against them, and pursued them almost up to Jerusalem. He then tarried three days at Scopas, not quite a mile from it, to try whether their fright of his army, would not make them relent, and accept of conditions of peace. And then advanced towards them in order of battle, on the 13th of October, (A. D. 68,) and put them in such consternation that they abandoned all the outer quarters of the city. Cestius made himself master of the lower parts of the city, and took up his head quarters in the royal palace.

Had he vigorously pushed on the siege, it is probable he might have put an effectual end to their rebellion; but that sinful nation was now doomed to greater evils, and the siege was unexpectedly and unaccountably raised at the instigation of some of Cestius's generals, whom Florus had corrupted; and fled from the city with the utmost precipitation. The Jews, however, pursued him as far as Antipatris, (upwards of 40 miles from Jerusalem,) and with little loss to themselves slew of his army nearly 6000 men.

After this disaster had befallen Cestus, and so much dissension reigning in the city, among the Jews, that great numbers of the better sort, says Josephus, forsook Jerusalem, as men do a sinking ship. And the christians, mindful of their divine master's warning, "*when ye shall see Jerusalem encompassed about with armies, and the abomination of desolation, that is the Roman army, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stand in the holy place,**" "*then let them which be in Judea flee to the mountains.*" Accordingly many of them, removed to Pella, a city beyond the river Jordan, a mountainous country, where

* Matt. xxiv. 15. Not only was the temple and mountain on which it stood accounted and called holy, but also the whole city of Jerusalem, and several furlongs of land round about. See Neh. xi. 1. Isa. xxvii. 13. Zech. ii. 12. Matt. xxvii. 53.

the war did not reach. Eusebius who resided near the spot, says, that the christians came from Jerusalem, and settled, before the war under Vespasian, began. Other providential opportunities for escaping afterwards occurred, of which, it is probable, those who were now left behind, availed themselves; for it is a striking fact, and such as cannot be contemplated by the pious mind without sentiments of devout admiration, that history does not record that even one christian perished in the siege of Jerusalem. Enduring to the end faithful to their divine master, they gave full credit to his prediction, and escaped the calamity. "*He that shall endure to the end,*" (i. e. of the scene of this prophecy) *shall be saved,** i. e. from the calamities which will involve all those who shall continue obstinate in unbelief.

The Jews after this success against Cestius were encouraged and set themselves about the properest means to carry on the war against the Romans; and choosing some of their bravest chiefs to command in the several cities and fortresses of Judea. Ananus the high priest, and Joseph the son of Garion, had the government of Jerusalem; and Eleazar the chief of the revolters, that of Idumea; and Josephus, the writer of these wars, was appointed governor of the two Galilees. Soon after which they departed to take each their particular command.

Whilst the new chosen governors, (now chosen by the Jews themselves,) were putting their respective cantons, (or places they were appointed to govern,) in the best posture of defence, the son of Garion in repairing the fortifications at Jerusalem, Josephus in fortifying many places in the Upper and Lower Galilee, and raising of forces to the number of 100,000, preparing arms and ammunition, and Eleazar was doing the same in Idumea. The news came to Nero of all these preparations, as well of the ill success of Cestius† against the

* Matt. xxiv. 13.

† What become of Cestius, is not known, it is supposed he did not long outlive his disgrace.

Jews. He commanded Vespasian to march, with all possible expedition, into Judea. Accordingly, that commander raised forces, and despatched his son Titus to bring two of the Roman legions from Alexandria.— Before their arrival, the Jews had twice attempted to take the city of Ascalon, but were repulsed, with the loss of 18,000 men.

Early in the spring, A. D. 69, the imperial army 60,000 strong, all well disciplined, entered Galilee; soon after their arrival Gadara was taken, all the adults were put to the sword, and fire set to the adjacent towns and villages. The conquerors next closely beset Jotapata. Josephus, now governor of that province, having timely notice of it, went into that place, and defended it with great bravery and vigour forty-seven days, in spite of all the Roman efforts. It was at length taken and put to fire and sword, not one Jew escaped to carry the dreadful news, for they were all murdered or made prisoners. There were reckoned 40,000 of the former, and but 12,000 of the latter. Josephus hid himself in a deep cave, with forty of his officers, but being discovered, Vespasian offered him his life on honourable terms if he would come forth: his officers were opposed to it, and had rather die than surrender to the Romans, and threatened the life of Josephus if he offered to surrender.— He reasoned with them on the evil of self-murder: but all he said having no effect to persuade them, he at last proposed to them, if they were determined upon death, to draw lots who should kill his companion, in order to avoid the crime of suicide. This dreadful proposal was accepted, and it is believed, that providence so ordered it, that the two last survivors, were Josephus and a person whom he easily persuaded to live. He then came forth, and when brought before Vespasian, as many as could, crowded about him, to have a sight of him who had so bravely fought against them. He was kept prisoner, and after awhile he understood that Vespasian intended to send him to Nero, but he

expecting no mercy from that cruel wretch,* he requested liberty to speak with Vespasian, which being granted, he told him that he had a message from the God of heaven to him, which was of much more concern, than his being sent to Nero.—And told him that he should have preferred death to this surrender, had it not been to deliver to him what God had revealed, that Nero would soon die and that Vespasian would succeed him, and in so short a time said he, that I already look upon you as emperor, and your son Titus as your happy successor. And said he, keep me your prisoner, and if you find that I have abused God's name in promising you the empire of the world, then punish me with the most severest death, Vespasian took him at his word. And he soon learning that some other things that Josephus had foretold, had come to pass, placed the more confidence in him. Vespasian soon became emperor, when Josephus was released from prison and treated with much respect. He remained in the Roman army until the conclusion of the war, and then wrote the history of these times.

As soon as the news of Jotapas being taken, had reached Jerusalem, the Jews who heard also, that Josephus had been killed in it, made the greatest mourn-

* I think I am justified in calling him, a cruel wretch ; for according to the history of him, he was in the latter part of his reign as cruel a being as ever lived. A short sketch of him may not be unacceptable to many readers. In the first part of his reign, he behaved with humanity and justice, but in the latter part, he greatly altered. He murdered his mother, and several other of his relatives, and almost all his friends, and principal subjects. He mightily encouraged stage plays, and every thing lewd and foolish. About, A. D. 65, he set the city of Rome on fire, and sung one of his poems at the view of the flames. To appease the senate, he transferred the blame, on the innocent christians, asserting that they did it. And he caused multitudes of them to be apprehended ; some were sewed up in the skins of wild beasts, and torn to pieces by dogs ; others were crucified ; others were burnt in Nero's gardens, as nocturnal illuminations to the city : while he with great pleasure beheld the spectacle from his window. Some say he was more enraged against the christians, because that one of his darling concubines had been converted by the preaching of St. Peter, see Phil. iv. 22. After his tyranny and murder had rendered him quite intolerable, the senate declared him an enemy of the state, and he, in despair, fled : and being sought for to be killed, by being dragged through the streets. Rather than suffer such an ignominious death, he murdered himself.

ing and lamentation for him for near a month; but when they came to hear, that he had surrendered himself prisoner to the Romans, they who had till then retained great esteem and regard for him, began now to look upon him as a base betrayer of his country, and to persecute him with the most irreconcilable hatred, of which they gave him many singular proofs during the war.

While the Roman forces were besieging Jotapata, the inhabitants of Japha, a neighbouring city, rebelled.—The general sent a powerful army against them, and they were reduced after an obstinate siege. All the men amounting to fifteen thousand were massacred, and women and children carried away prisoners.*

A week after, the Samaritans, who had assembled on Mount Garizzim, with a design of defending themselves, having been closely blocked up by Cerealis, at the head of a Roman detachment, were ready to perish with water. They were persuaded to yield, and their lives offered them if they would, but nothing prevailing with them, they were butchered, in number, eleven thousand six hundred. Joppa fell the next victim to the Roman vengeance. It had been laid waste by Cestius, but being again repeopled by a great number of seditious Jews, who infested the country about. Their frequent piracies had provoked the vengeance of Vespasian: large numbers of the wretched inhabitants fled before his army to their ships; but a violent tempest immediately arose, which dashed vessel against vessel, and against the rocks in the most tremendous manner.—Some were drowned, some were crushed by the broken ships, and others killed themselves, and such as reached the shore, were slain by the merciless Romans. The sea for a long space was stained with blood; four

* What inconceivable misery and mourning these wars must have occasioned! Here at this one place upwards of a thousand women, Josephus says 1,130, who were left alive, bereaved of their husbands; and children of their parents, and they prisoners at the mercy of the Roman soldiery. But this is the case of all wars more or less. And where could wars ever spring from, but from the spirit of wicked Cain.

thousand two hundred dead bodies were strewed along the coast, and dreadful to relate, not an individual survived to report this great calamity at Jerusalem. Such events were foretold by our Saviour, when he said, "There shall be distress of nations, with perplexity; the sea and the waves roaring.*

Vespasian next marched to Tiberius. The city yielded and the inhabitants were spared. How much better this was than resistance. Terichea, on the sea of Galilee, was next attacked, and after an obstinate resistance, was reduced, multitudes of the Jews were destroyed, and upwards of thirty thousand sold for slaves.

After the reduction of these two places, all the cities of Galilee submitted themselves to the Romans, except Gischala and Gamala, and the mountain called Itabyr. Agrippa having in vain carried on a siege of seven months, the Romans were forced to come and assist him. He tried, however, to persuade them to surrender, before they were reduced to greater streights.—The only answer they made him was, with stones from their engines, one of which wounded him in the arm. The Romans provoked to behold the little regard which these wretches paid to their monarch, made such a desperate assault against them, that they got possession of the town; but being inferior in number, they were soon driven out of it with considerable loss. The assault was renewed with great fury, and as obstinately opposed by the besieged, who put the Roman courage and strength to the severest test they had as yet felt. At length three stout Romans having beaten down one of the towers, the army entered in at the breach, and put all they met to the sword, to the number of four thousand. But a much greater number perished by their own hands, flinging themselves down from the rocks, walls, and by other violent means.

Titus who had been sent to besiege Gischala, earnestly exhorted the inhabitants to save themselves from

* Luke xxi. 25.

destruction by a timely surrender. The citizens acceded to his advice, but a seditious Jew, named John, vehemently opposed it; and having the mob at his command, overawed the whole city. On the Sabbath he intreated Titus to forbear hostility till the next day, promising then to accept his proposals. But after his request was granted, he, with a number of his followers fled to Jerusalem. Next day the citizens surrendered themselves, and told the Roman general of John's flight, begging of him, not to punish the innocent with the guilty, which he readily consented to, and sent some of his horse after the fugitive. But John had reached Jerusalem, before they could overtake him; but his followers not making so quick speed, they killed near six thousand on the road, and brought back nearly three thousand women and children prisoners. The taking, and garrisoning this last place completed the conquest of Galilee, and Titus rejoined his father at Cesarea.

For the remainder of the year and the whole of the following one, the revolutions in the Roman empire,* prevented Vespasian from pursuing the war with vigour. And he the more readily deferred commencing the siege of Jerusalem; from being apprised that the Jews were wasting their strength by internal wars, and facilitating the conquest of their devoted city.

The Jewish nation, at this time were divided into two very opposite parties. The more rational and moderate part, who clearly saw that the war, if continued, would end in the total ruin of their city and country, strongly urged the necessity of immediate submission to the Romans. The other party called Zealots, which were far more numerous, and powerful, consisted of men of the vilest and most profligate character, that ever history could parallel. They were proud, ambitious, cruel, rapacious, and committed the most horrid and

* i. e. The contentions between Galba, Otha, and Vitellius for the empire, more of which hereafter.

unnatural crimes, under pretence of religion. In a word, if Josephus's character of them may be credited, of which there is no doubt, they acted more like incarnate devils, than like men possessing the least spark of goodness and humanity. They covered their hellish brutality with the specious title of zeal for the glory of God, affirming every where, that it was offering the greatest dishonor to him, to submit to any earthly potentate, much more to Romans and heathens; and that this was the only motive that induced them to take up arms, and to bind themselves under the strictest obligations, not to lay them down, till they had either totally extirpated all foreign authority or perished in the attempt. This dreadful dissension was not confined solely to Jerusalem, but had infected all the cities, towns, and villages, of Judea. Even houses and families were divided against each other: Josephus says expressly, that the discord first began in private houses, just as the blessed Jesus had expressly foretold, that a man's greatest enemies should be they of his own household.*

This opposition induced the contrary party to take up arms in their own defence, against those, whom a certain writer calls "hell hounds." And from these two parties, this domestic or civil war, the Jews suffered vastly more than they did from the Romans, as we shall soon see.

The Zealots began to exercise their cruelty in robbing, plundering, and massacreing all that opposed them in the country round about. They entered Jerusalem with Zachariah and Eleazar at their head. Here they were at first, strenuously opposed by the high priest, Ananus. This pontiff made a pathetic speech to the people, exhorting them to take up arms against those factious villains, who had by this time seized upon the temple, and made it their garrison, from which time

* And further, "think not that I am come to send peace on earth, I came not to send peace but a sword." Matt. x. 35. In consequence of their rejection of him, "*and there shall be division, father against son,*" &c. Luke xii. 51. &c. all which was fully the case in these times.

they sallied out to commit the vilest outrages and butcheries. The opposite party were easily persuaded by Ananus to resist them ; and went and armed themselves and returned in a strong body, and made a vigorous attack against them. The engagement was fierce and obstinate on both sides, and lasted a considerable time. At length, Ananus forced them out of the outward part of the temple, whence they retired into the inner, where he held them closely besieged. A vile demagogue, John of Gischala, who had lately fled, as before mentioned, from Gischala to Jerusalem, and was at the head of the seditious ; this wretch, under the pretence of taking the interest of the peaceable party, was actually betraying them to the Zealots.

Ananus, not suspecting his treachery, sent him to offer the besieged some fair terms, instead of which, when he came to them, he persuaded them to hold out, and call the Idumeans to their assistance. They did so, and procured twenty thousand of them to come to their relief ; but when they approached the metropolis, Ananus refused them entrance, and exhorted them in a friendly and civil manner to retire to their own country ;* at which they were so exasperated, that they accused him of being in the Roman interest, and of betraying the city to them. They set down before the walls for that day, threatening Ananus, in the severest terms, if he did not open the gates to them.

On that very night there happened such a dreadful storm, accompanied with thunder and lightning, and a violent earthquake, that the Zealots from within the inner court, sawed the bolts and hinges of the temple gates, without being heard, and let in the Idumeans. Athirst for blood, and inflamed by revenge, the morning sun beheld eight thousand and five hundred dead bodies, lying in the streets of the holy city. Those two parties, thus joined and strengthened began to commit the most horrid butcheries, of those on the opposite side. Barely

* About forty miles South East of Jerusalem.

to put them to a speedy death, was what they thought too mild a punishment ; they must have the pleasure to murder them by inches ; so that now they made it their diversion to put them to the most exquisite torture that could be invented. Twelve thousand persons of noble extraction, in the flower of their age, were butchered in that horrid manner, and among them the brave Ananus and Jesus son of Gamaliel, another who had nobly opposed them.

In a word, the Zealots fury and cruelty, were grown to such a height, that the whole nation trembled at the very name ;* none dared be seen or heard to weep or cry for the murder of their nearest relations, nor even to give them burial.

The Idumeans at length, exclaiming against the massacreing so many worthy persons, and finally having repented of joining the Zealot tyrant, they returned to their native country.

The Zealots began to set up a kind of a court judicature, to judge those they should think guilty, with some show of justice. Zechariah the son of Baruch, was one of the first, who was brought before this mock court, which consisted of seventy-two persons. They brought a dismal catalogue of accusations against him, which he not only repelled with great ease, and plainness, but reminded them of their own black and wicked crimes, with such noble courage, and in such lively colours, that the consciousness of their guilt, made them pronounce him innocent, at which the body of the Zealots were so exasperated, that they murdered him on the spot.†

* Exactly similar to the reign of terror in France at the beginning of the revolution, or about 1792.

† This brave and worthy person, is, by many christian commentators, supposed to be the one that Christ meant when he said, "that upon you may come all the righteous blood shed upon the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel unto the blood of Zacharius, son of Borachias, whom ye slew between the temple and the altar." As there is no statement any where in the scriptures previous to the time Christ spoke this, of any such person being slain in the manner here related. It is objected that he speaks of one long before put to death, but it is replied, that he spake prophetically, and according to the prophetic style, made use of

Their rage did not stop there ; but, after butchering many of distinction and character, they began to wreak it on the common people. It was a capital crime to oppose them ; to be inactive, was to be a spy on them ; not to applaud their vile actions was to be disaffected ; or to be disliked by them was crime enough to deserve death. This obliged many of the Jews to forsake Jerusalem, and take shelter under the Romans, though the gates of the city were closely guarded, and it was extremely hazardous to retire to them ; and as many as were caught doing so, were put to immediate death. All this while Vespasian was at Cesarea, and remained a kind of idle spectator of the dismal condition of the Jewish nation. His officers amazed at this so unusual inaction, took the liberty to remind him, what a pity it was he should thus neglect the most favourable opportunity of making himself master of Jerusalem, and all Palestine or Judea. Vespasian, who had a longer head than they, soon made them sensible, that his continuing thus idle in Cesarea was the most probable means of effecting the conquest they spake of, with the least difficulty, and hazard of his troops ; since the Jewish strength was daily growing weaker and weaker by their intestine broils and massacres, whilst his own men, after enjoying so long a refreshment, would be the better able to crush them into submission or death.

Every thing succeeded to his wish. The Zealots, after having massacred, or driven away all who were capable of opposing them, turned their murderous weapons against each other. For a new party was formed against John, by Simon, the son of Gorias, a bold ambitious young man of abandoned character and daring spirit. To increase his party, he published a proclamation, in which he promised liberty to all slaves, and suitable encouragement to all freemen who would enlist under his banners. This stratagem had the desired

the present for the future. And of the last of those just persons, the shedding of whose blood was to fill up the measure in full of the iniquities of the Jews.

effect ; and he saw his party in a very little time swelled into a considerable army, and himself respected and obeyed, as if he had been a monarch. Many Jews of distinction, as well as others of a meaner rank, were glad thus to put themselves under his protection, to escape from the cruelties of the other party. After he had collected many followers, he invaded Idumea, corrupted the general of that country ; and, having gained possession of their military forces, advanced towards Jerusalem, and encamped before the city. This army destroyed the Jews without the walls, and was more dreaded than the Romans, while the Zealots within excited still greater terror than either.

The inhabitants of Jerusalem, in order to oppose the tyranny of John, formed the fatal resolution of admitting Simon with his troops. Accordingly he entered, and increased the calamities of these miserable people, who now were exposed alternately to the rage of both parties. And to further add to their misery, another party also arose in the city, under Eleazar ; and, after a deal of quarrelling and fighting against each other, acting more like mad men and devils, than rational and human creatures, and sacrificing many thousands to each other's tyranny and ambition, (of which to give a full account, would take many pages.) John found means to cut off, or force Eleazar's men to submit to him, and the factions were again reduced to two parties headed by Simon and John, who opposed each other with implacable animosity.

During these contests, and civil wars in the city, Vespasian had marched from Cesarea ; conquered the hitherto unsubdued part of the country ; stormed Hebron, (twenty-two miles south of Jerusalem,) slew all the adults, and burned their city. He also gained possession of Gadara, the metropolis of Perea, and reduced nearly all the Idumean towns to ashes.

Jerusalem now, (in the fore part of the year A. D. 72) became the grand object of the Romans. Vespasian, having been elected emperor, according to the pre-

diction of Josephus, sent his son Titus to reduce Jerusalem. Titus in his march towards it, laid waste the country, and slaughtered the inhabitants. He had, besides the three legions which had served under his father, the fifth legion which had been so roughly handled by the Jews in Cestius's time, and now burned with desire of revenge. Besides these, Agrippa, Soemus, and Antiochus, (the two former of whom accompanied him in person,) and some allied cities, had furnished him with twenty regiments of foot, and eight of horse, besides vast multitudes of Arabs, and a choice number of persons of distinction from Italy, and other places, who came to signalize themselves under his standard. Titus ordered the fifth legion to take the road of Emmaus, the tenth that of Jericho; the other legions marched after him in order. Josephus who was an eye witness of it all, because he was still ordered to follow the emperor, gives it us as follows: The auxiliaries marched first, and were followed by the pioneers, whose business it was to level, or clear the ground as they went. After them came the general quarter-masters, who marked out their encampments, and were followed by the baggage of the chiefs of the army, under a sufficient escort.

Titus came next, attended with his guard, and a select number of troops, followed by a body of horse, who marched just before the warlike engines, and after these came the tribunes, and chiefs of the cohorts, attended with a chosen number of troops. Then appeared the Roman eagle, surrounded with the ensigns of the several legions, and preceded by a number of trumpets sounding, and followed by the main body, which marched in rank and file in front. Lastly came the suttlers, handicrafts, &c. attended with a strong guard of soldiers, which closed the whole march. In this order they came to Gophna, which had a Roman garrison, and on the next day to Gibeath-Saul, about three miles and a half from Jerusalem.

We have now deduced the prophecies as low as the siege of Jerusalem, or very near. And thus we see

how completely the predictions of Christ have been fulfilled, respecting wars and rumours of wars, which should be before the destruction of Jerusalem. And besides all those that have been related, his predictions of *wars and rumours of wars*, had been still more completely fulfilled, by the civil wars in Rome. For whilst Judea was, as we have shewed, miserably torn with foreign and intestine wars, the Roman empire was in almost as bad a plight, by the fierce contentions of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, each fighting for the empire,* but they all dying, as well as Nero their immediate predecessor, a violent death or by suicide, within eighteen months. And Vespasian being chosen emperor, a calm was restored to the empire, and now Vespasian and Titus had no wars with any other nation, (that I recollect,) or any others they wished to subdue at this time but the Jews.

And now commences their utter ruin as foretold by Christ, the full completion of his predictions respecting Jerusalem, and besides his prediction of its ruin, and of the Jews. Many of his followers from the time he was crucified, to the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, repeatedly had foretold the Jews of their approaching ruin. Particularly St. Peter and St. Paul, of whom it is recorded by Lactantius, that when they were dragged to execution, they foretold, that God would in a little time send a prince against the Jews, that should overcome them, and level their metropolis with the ground ; that during the siege of it, they should pine with hunger and thirst, even to eating one another ; that after it was taken, they should see their women

* "To judge of the happiness of a nation," says a writer, "or of an individual, by the appearance of outward power and splendour, is to adopt an erroneous ground of judging. The throned monarch might often envy the happiness of his meanest slave ; and whilst an empire gives law to nations, and the terror of its name is universal, it may be one wide scene of misery." This was much the condition of Rome at this time, or previous to Vespasian being made emperor. Victories, triumphs, luxury, idleness, ease, and elegance, filled Rome and all Italy with millions of wretches, abandoned to all principles of virtue, seeking for pleasure through riot, indulgence, and wickedness.

grievously tormented before their eyes, their virgins deflowered, their young men torn asunder, and their babes dashed in pieces ; themselves reduced to the lowest misery, their country wasted with fire and sword, and the whole nation banished out of their own land, because they had rejected and so cruelly treated the Son of God. And that St. Peter had made many other predictions, either by inspiration, or explaining those of his Master. And Phlegon a heathen author, whose testimony Origin produces, had recorded that every thing, that the apostles had foretold was punctually fulfilled. Thus nothing befel the Jews but what had been foretold them. And the cause of all their sufferings was one and the same—a departure from the law and covenant of their God. Or in other words their sins and wickedness, in which they had never before arrived to so great an height ; and in their adding thereto the climax of all, the unjust and most wicked act, of crucifying the beloved, amiable, holy Son of God, and then still adding sin to sin, in persecuting his disciples and putting many of them to death. And horrid to relate, they sealed their doom, their time of grace was now past, and their destruction inevitable. I have endeavoured to arrange and relate in as concise and plain a manner as I could the several events, and signs, which our Lord had foretold would precede the destruction, of what had long been called the holy city.

No sooner were his predictions accomplished, or the time come for their fulfilment, than a most unaccountable infatuation seized upon the whole Jewish nation. They appear to be bent on their own ruin, and rush headlong into the midst of those unparalleled calamities, which at length totally overwhelmed them. Our allotted room will not admit a minute detail of the origin and progress of all those evils ; but such particulars as are of most importance, and which illustrate the fulfilment of the remaining part of our Lord's predictions, shall be our next subject.

PART II.

Containing an account of all the principal calamitous events that transpired between the Jews and Romans, from the commencement of the siege against Jerusalem, by the army under Titus, until the end of the war.

Further shewing, the fulfilment of the predictions of Christ, relating to the destruction of Jerusalem, its temple, and of the Jewish Nation.



CHAPTER VII.

Containing several introductory observations previous to, and the better understanding of the siege and final destruction of Jerusalem.

THE preceding discourse was concerning the signs of the destruction of Jerusalem, and of the wars and rumours of wars preceding its destruction, or which transpired before the siege, which were to be forerunners of this great event. And now we proceed to give an account of those which happened during the siege and after it. "Never was prophecy," says Bishop Newton, "more exactly fulfilled, and that it is well worth our time and attention to trace the particulars."

Previous to Titus having closely besieged the city, the Jews had resorted from far and near, even from beyond the river Euphrates, and a greater resort than ever before, to keep the passover: the principal cause of which was, the chief of the Jews in Jerusalem had written to invite their brethren, from every where, not doubting but their presence, and great concourse, would contribute to quell the factious within, as well as oppose the Romans without; so that they came flocking,

says Josephus, from all parts of the world.* And we shall now soon see how they fared. While the factious were contending, as hath been a little back related, and inventing new methods of mutual destruction, intelligence arrived that the Roman army was approaching the city. The Jews were petrified with astonishment and fear; there was no time for counsel, no hope of pacification, no means of flight :—all was wild disorder and perplexity :—nothing was to be heard but “ *the confused noise of the warrior,* ”—nothing to be seen but “ *garments rolled in blood,* ”—nothing to be expected from the Romans but signal and exemplary vengeance. A ceaseless cry of combatants was heard day and night, and yet the lamentations of mourners were still more dreadful; the consternation and terror that now prevailed, induced many of the inhabitants to wish success to the Romans, in hopes that they would effect their deliverance.

Such was the horrible condition of the place when Titus and his army presented themselves, and encamped before Jerusalem; but alas! not to deliver it from its miseries, but to fulfil the predictions, and vindicate the benevolent warning of our Saviour: “ *When ye see,* ” he had said to his disciples, “ *the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, standing in the holy place,* (See note page 40,) *and Jerusalem surrounded by armies, then let them who are in the midst of Jerusalem depart, and let not those who are in the country enter into her,* ” for, “ *then know that the desola-*

* This is the most astonishing to me of any thing related in the whole story from first to last: that the Jews should resort in such numbers to Jerusalem, in such troublesome and dangerous times; on the very account of which many had left the city, as heretofore noticed. And that such numbers should now resort to Jerusalem, when, besides the dreadful times within, on account of the civil war, but when Titus was approaching to besiege the city with his army. Their conduct is totally unaccountable to me, unless it be as the authors of the Universal History, and many other writers say, “ that they were directed thither by the hand of providence, to suffer the punishment of their sin.” But be this as it may, it does appear that an unaccountable infatuation had fell upon the whole Jewish nation, and that they contrived every way to ruin themselves.

tion," or ruin, "*thereof is nigh.*"* These armies no doubt, were those of the Romans, who now invested the city.

From the time of the Babylonian captivity, idolatry had been held as an abomination by the Jews. This national aversion was manifested against the images of their gods, and emperors, which the Roman armies carried on their standards : Lest, however, the army of Titus should not be sufficiently designated, our Lord adds, "*Wheresoever the carcass is, there will the eagles be gathered together,*"† to devour, to destroy.

The Jewish state, at this time, was compared to a carcass. The sceptre of Judea, (i. e.) the civil and political authority, the life of its religion, and the glory of its temple, were departed. It was, in short, morally and judicially dead. The eagle, whose nature is rapine and murder, fitly represented the fierce and sanguinary temper of the Romans, and, perhaps, might be intended to refer also to the principal figure on their ensigns, which, however obnoxious to the Jews, were at length planted in the midst of the holy city, and finally in the temple itself.

The day on which Titus encompassed Jerusalem was the feast of the passover : and it is deserving of the very particular attention of the reader, that this was the anniversary of that memorable period, in which they crucified their Messiah ! At this season, as before mentioned, multitudes came up from all the surrounding country, and from distant parts, to keep the festival. How suitable and how kind, then, was the prophetic admonition of our Lord; and how clearly he foresaw into futurity when he said, "*Let not them that are in the countries enter into Jerusalem.*"‡ Mankind are always gainers in this world, by believing in and practising that which is holy, just, and good, besides being infinitely gainers in another.

What a miserable situation must those Jews that came

* Matt. xxiv. 15. Luke xxi. 20, 21. † Matt. xxiv. 28. ‡ Luke xxi. 21.

to Jerusalem, have been in: and also their families, they hearing that all those who had left home were enclosed in Jerusalem by the Roman army, and could not return: wives never to see their husbands more, nor children their fathers. We can hardly conceive of the lamentation and misery. Had they believed in the holy Jesus, or his disciples, they would not have been caught in this miserable situation. They would have adhered to the warning, "*Let not them that are in the countries enter into Jerusalem.*" According to Josephus the event took place suddenly; thus not only fulfilling the predictions of Christ, that these calamities should come, like swift lightning, "*that cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west,*" and, "*as a snare on all them, (the Jews,) who dwell upon the face of the whole earth,**" but justifying, also, his friendly direction, that those who fled from the place, should fly as quick as possible, by telling them, "*Let him which is on the house top, not come down, to take any thing out of his house. Neither let him which is in the field, return back to take his clothes.*" Christ makes use of these expressions, to intimate that their flight must be sudden and hasty, as Lot's was out of Sodam. As our Saviour cautioned his disciples to fly, "*when they should see Jerusalem encompassed with armies;*" ~~so it was~~ very providentially ordered, that Jerusalem should be encompassed with armies, and yet that they should have such favourable opportunities of making their escape. In the twelfth year of Nero's reign, when Cestius Gallus came against Jerusalem with a powerful army, as related in the last Chapter, he might, as Josephus affirms, if he would have assaulted the city, presently have taken it, and thereby have put an end to the war: but without any just reason, and contrary to the expectation of all, he raised the siege and departed.

Vespasian was deputed in his room to govern Syria, and to carry on the war against the Jews: this great

* Luke xxi, 35,

general having subdued all the country, prepared to besiege Jerusalem, and invested the city on every side, as we shall soon see. But the news of Nero's death, and soon afterwards of Galba's, and the disturbances which thereupon increased in the Roman empire, and the civil wars between Otho and Vitellius, held Vespasian and Titus in suspense, and they thought it unseasonable to engage in a foreign war, while they were anxious for the safety of their own country. By these means the expedition against Jerusalem was deferred for some time ; and the city was not actually besieged in form, till after Vespasian was confirmed in the empire, and Titus was sent to command the forces in Judea and against Jerusalem. These accidental delays, were favourable to the christians, and for those who had thoughts of retreating, and providing for their own safety. Afterwards there was hardly any possibility of escaping ; for our Saviour had said, "*The day shall come upon thee, that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side,*" and he assigns the reason for giving them this caution ; "*For there shall be great tribulation, such as was not from the beginning of the world to this time, nor never shall be.*" For indeed all history cannot furnish us with a parallel to the calamities and miseries of the Jews, which have been great, besides those which are past, but greater still which are now going to be related. Quarrelling, rapine, murder, famine, and pestilence within, and all the terrors of war without. Our Saviour wept at the foresight of these things, and it is almost impossible for persons of tenderness and humanity to read the relations without weeping too.

CHAPTER VIII.

Continued from the commencement of the siege against Jerusalem, till the conquest of it.

THE last time, in our account of the Roman army we left them, encamped at Gibeath-Saul, about three miles and an half from Jerusalem.

Titus advanced near the city, in order to examine its strength and avenues, attended only with six hundred horse ; he flattered himself that upon his first appearance, the peaceable part of the Jews would open the gates to him ; but, to his surprise, the factious Jews united, and rushed furiously out of the city, and made so sudden and vigorous sally against him, that he found himself quite surrounded with enemies, in a narrow defile, and cut off from his cavalry ; so that he had no other way left to escape their fury, but to make a desperate push, and break his way through them ; which he at length, almost by miracle, happily accomplished, even without receiving any wound, though many darts and arrows were shot at him, & losing more than two of his men. To this Josephus says, "it is evident at that time that God preserved him, and that it is God that giveth the victory." This event caused a short suspension of hostilities, and, by opening the gates, gave another opportunity to such as were disposed to make their escape ; which before, they could not have attempted without interruption, from the suspicion that they wished to revolt to the Romans. This success inspired the Jews with confidence, and they resolved to defend their city to the very uttermost.

After Titus had made this narrow escape, he caused his army to draw near to Scopus within less than a mile of the city, in order to besiege it in form, whilst the factious within were applauding themselves for their late advantage, which they vainly interpreted as a good omen of their future success. His legion which had

came by the way of Jericho, being arrived, he ordered it to encamp on the mount of Olives, which was parted from the town by the brook Cedron, and where they were on a sudden so furiously assaulted, that they were in danger of being cut all to pieces, had not Titus come timely to their relief.

It was then that the factions, seeing themselves besieged by so powerful an army, and so brave a general, began to think of laying aside all private faults, and join together in a vigorous defence against the common enemy. This union, however, proved but short lived ; for on the fourteenth of April, A. D. 72 ; which was ushering in the passover, when Eleazar had opened the avenues of his court, to the great concourse that came thither to the sacrifice, John of Gischala found means to slide in some of his men among them, with swords hid under their cloaks, who immediately drew their weapons, and fell on Eleazar's party, and the rest of the people, and filled the court of the priests with blood and horrid outcries, and took possession of the place.— By this bloody and impious stratagem, the three factions were reduced to two, Eleazar's men being all either cut off, or after their flight, returned and submitted themselves to John, who had now no enemy within the walls but Simon.

From that time, this last renewed his hostilities against him with great vigour, he held now the whole temple, some of the out posts of it, and the vale of Cedron. Simon had the whole city to range in, in some parts of which John had made such devastations, that they served them for a field of battle ; from which they sallied unanimously against the common enemy, whenever occasion served ; after which they returned to their usual hostilities, turning their arms against each other, (what astonishing mad conduct,) just as if they had sworn to make their ruin more easy to the Romans. Who in the meantime, were drawing still nearer to the walls, having with great labour and pains, levelled all the ground between Scopas and them, by pulling down all the

houses and hedges, and cutting down the trees, and clearing away every thing that stood in their way.

Whilst this work was doing, Titus sent the besieged some offers of peace : Josephus was chosen to be the messenger of them ; but all the offers he made, were rejected with indignation. Next day they made a show of accepting them, insomuch, that some of the Romans, believing them in earnest, ventured contrary to their general's orders, to enter the city ; many were killed, and wounded, at which the Jews made great joy, deriding the Romans for being so easily deceived. He sent a second time Nicanor and Josephus, with fresh offers ; the former received a wound in his shoulder, upon which Titus resolved to begin the assault. Every thing was now carried on with ardour ; the Romans began to play their engines against the city with all their might, and it was by one of those and at this time, that Jesus, the poor man who had so long foretold the destruction of the Jewish nation, by crying woes against it, was killed, not intentionally, but by being in the way, between the two armies.

The Jews had likewise their machines upon the walls, which they plied with uncommon fury : they had taken them from Cestius, in their pursuit after him, when he retired so unexpectedly from them : but they were so ignorant in their use, that they made little execution with them, till they were better instructed by some Roman deserters ; till then, their chief success was rather owing to their frequent sallies, by which many were often killed on both sides. But the Roman legions, who had all their machines before them, and every thing in order made terrible havock. The least stones they threw were near one hundred weight ; and these they could throw about a quarter of a mile, and with such force as to do terrible execution.

The besieged were soon compelled to retire from the ponderous stones which the Romans incessantly threw against them. Their battering rams, at the same time were steadily directed against the walls. A breach was

soon made, at which the besiegers entered, and encamped in the city within the first wall, while the Jews retired behind the second enclosure.

The Romans immediately advanced to the second wall, and applied their engines and battering rams, so effectually, that one of the towers the Jews had erected, began to shake. Those who occupied it perceiving their impending ruin, set it on fire, and astonishing to tell, they precipitated themselves into the flames. The fall of this structure gave the Romans an entrance into the second enclosure. They were, however, repulsed by the besieged : but at length regained their lost ground, and prepared for attacking the third and inner walls.

The famine now raged in a terrible manner in the city. It had for some time been silently approaching, and many of the peaceable and poor had perished for want of necessaries. With this new calamity strange to relate, the madness of the factions again returned. They, i. e. John and Simon and their parties, in order to injure each other, had in their ungovernable fury, wasted and destroyed such vast quantities of provision, as might have supplied the city many years. And thus as Josephus says, "they cut the very sinews of their own strength, and were reduced to a famine of their own making," which was such, that impelled by the craving of hunger, they snatched the staff of life out of each other's hands, and many devoured the grain unprepared.

The factious soldiers preyed upon the common people with the most unheard of cruelty. They forced their houses, and if they found any victuals in them, they butchered the inhabitants for not apprising them of it. And if they found nothing, which was almost every where the case, they put them to the most severe tortures, under pretence that they had some provisions concealed. Women forced from their husbands, and children from their fathers, and even mothers from their infants, the little they had, and while sucking children

were wasting away in their arms, they took away the vital drops that sustained them. So justly did our Lord pronounce a wo on "them who should give suck in these days." Josephus says, "I do not think that since the creation any city ever suffered such dreadful calamities." And speaking of the factions, he says, I should undertake an impossible task, were I to enter into a detail of all the cruelties of these impious wretches, and of men so fertile in all kinds of wickedness.

Titus who knew their miserable condition, and was still willing to spare them, gave them four days to reflect ; during which he caused his army to be mustered, and provisions to be distributed to them in sight of the Jews, who flocked upon the walls to see it ; which did so much more increase their misery, that the most villanous among the Zealots would have agreed to surrender, could they have depended on a pardon, which their black and horrid deeds, made them quite despair of. Josephus was sent to speak to them again, and to exhort them not to run themselves into inevitable ruin, by obstinately persisting in the defence of a place, which could hold out but a very little while, and which the Romans already considered as their own. Josephus in his pathetic speech and exhortation to them, shed, he says, a flood of tears. But his stubborn people, after many bitter invectives, began to dart their arrows at him : at which, not at all regarding, he went on with great earnestness ; but all the effect it wrought on them, was that it only prevailed on great numbers to steal away privately to the Romans, whilst the rest became only the more desperate and resolute to hold on to the last in spite of Titus's merciful offers.

As many as were caught by the Romans in their sallies in fighting against them, Titus caused to be crucified in sight of the town, to inject terror among the rest, but the Zealots reported that they were those who fled to him for protection ; which when Titus understood, he sent a prisoner with his hands cut off to undeceive and assure them, that he spared all that vo-

luntarily came over to him. Which encouraged great numbers to accept his offer, though the avenues were closely guarded by the factious, who put all to death who were caught going to the enemy.

A great calamity befell many Jews who had escaped safe to the Roman camp. A report got spread among the Arabs and Syrians, who were incorporated in the Roman army, that the Jews who came, had swallowed their gold. Impelled by avarice, with unexampled cruelty they ripped open the bellies of two thousand of the deserters in one night, to come at the supposed treasure. When Titus was apprised of this barbarity, he would have condemned all these butchering wretches to death; but they proved so numerous that he was forced to save them;* and contented himself, with issuing a proclamation through his camp, that as many as should be guilty of the same horrid villany, should be put to immediate death. Yet did not this deter some from doing of the same privately: yet after all, in very few did they find what they sought for. "It appears, says Josephus, that God had given the Jews over to perdition, suffering all things to be turned to their destruction."

Titus to hasten their destined ruin, undertook the arduous task of enclosing the city with a strong wall, in order to prevent the inhabitants from receiving any succour, or provision from the adjacent country, or eluding his vengeance by flight.

Such was the spirit of the soldiers, that in three days

* I think it no credit to Titus, that he did not inflict upon them some punishment. The poor Jews had been offered protection, if they came out among the Romans, (and if they had had gold in their pockets the soldiers had no right, nor orders to rob them of it, or take it from them,) and then to be treated in that manner, was too dishonourable, and too great a crime to go unpunished. The few that had hid their gold in that manner, it was not done to hide it from the Romans, but from the thieves in the city, fearing it would be taken from them before they got out. Josephus says, that he does not know of a greater misfortune, as to injustice that ever befell the Jews. And I don't know of a greater act of wickedness ever committed. It is a common saying, that some men are as bad as the devil can make them, they are so. For of what wickedness can we conceive, of devils being capable of doing, that devils incarnate have not done. I have some times thought that they out do even their master.

they enclosed the city by a wall nearly five miles in circuit. Thus was fulfilled another of our Saviour's predictions. *"The days shall come upon thee when thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and encompass thee in on every side."*

As no supplies whatever could now enter the walls, the famine rapidly extended, and horribly increasing, and devoured whole families. The tops of houses,* and the recesses or most private parts of the city, were covered with women, children, and aged men. The young men appeared like skeletons in the places of public resort, and often fell down lifeless in the streets. The dead were too numerous to be interred, and many expired in the performance of this office. The public calamity was too great for lamentation. Silence, and as it were, a black, and deadly night overspread the city. But even such a scene could not awe the robbers, they stripped the dead of their grave clothes, with an unfeeling and wild laughter. They with their swords pierced their carcasses, and some that were yet breathing. Simon Gioras chose this melancholy and awful period to manifest the deep malignity, and cruelty of his nature, in the execution of the high priest Matthias, and his three sons, whom he caused to be condemned as favourers of the Romans. The father, in consideration of his having opened the gates to Simon, begged that he might be executed previously to his children; but the unfeeling tyrant gave orders that he should be dispatched in the last place, in sight of his children, and in his expiring moments insultingly asked him,

* The unlearned reader should be informed, that the tops of houses of the Jews, as well as those of the ancient Greeks and Romans, were flat on the top for them to walk upon, and had usually stairs on the outside, by which they might ascend and descend without entering into the house. Those who do not know this, must think it strange, when they read of people being on the tops of their houses, and also of what Christ says, speaking of this day, *"let him which is on the house top not come down to take any thing out of his house."* Speaking thus to signify, that they must hurry away as quick as possible, and get out of the city, before it is in such a miserable situation as we now read that it was,

whether the Romans could then relieve him, and they denied him common burial.

Ananus with about seventeen persons more of rank and merit, were put to death after him ; besides many more for having been caught weeping for their deceased friends.

All this while Josephus did not cease exhorting them to surrender, and to represent to them, the dreadful consequences of an obstinate resistance, and to assure them that it was out of his mere compassion, that he thus hazarded his own life to save theirs : he received such a wound on his head by a stone, as laid him for dead on the ground. The Jews sallied out immediately to have seized his body, but the Romans ran quickly and took him off.

They also kept Josephus's father in prison, and made public proclamation, that no citizen whosoever should either speak to him, or go into his company, for fear he should betray them.

One Judas who was one of Simon's under officers, and a person entrusted by him to keep one of the towers, saw this cruel procedure of Simon ; he consulted with ten of his men, that were under him and that were most faithful to him, and in whom he could confide, to depart to the Romans, and not to stay longer among so much misery and cruelty, and that as they could have no hopes of deliverance by continuing under such wicked wretches, and that the famine was among them and the Romans, almost the same as within the city, that Simon had been unfaithful to his best friends, and that there was no reason to expect but he would soon bring them to the like punishment, which if they could get among the Romans they would be safe from Simon's cruelty and all the miseries in the city. "Come on," said he, "let us surrender up this wall and tower and save ourselves and city, nor will Simon be much hurt if he be brought to justice a little sooner, than he will be." The ten soldiers were prevailed upon to do as he said, and called to the Romans. But the Romans

had been so often deceived, they delayed, till Simon came and discovered the plot, when they were all put to death, and their mangled bodies thrown down before the walls of the city in sight of the Romans.

When they found that neither their guards, nor severities could prevent the people's flight, they had recourse to another stratagem equally impious and cruel ; which was, to hire a pack of vile pretenders to prophecy, to go about and encourage the despairing remains of the people, to expect a speedy and miraculous deliverance ; and this imposture proved a greater expedient with that infatuated nation, than their other precautions. We shall not disgust our readers nor take up time, to mention what miserable shifts these poor wretches made use of to prolong the sad remains of a life, which ought to have been more loathsome under such circumstances, than the filthy and unnatural aliments they picked up to support it.

The horrors of famine grew still more melancholy and effective. The Jews, for want of food, were at length compelled to eat that which in better circumstances would have been most odious. It would be disgusting to many readers, to give a detail of what they did eat. Nothing could be more dreadful than the famished condition to which they were now reduced. The poor, having nothing to trust to but the Roman mercy, or a speedy death, ran all hazards to get out of the city. The rich within the walls were now forced, though in the most private manner, to give half of all they were worth, for a measure of wheat, and the middling sort for one of barley. This they were forced to carry into some private place in their houses, and to feed upon it as it was, without daring to pound or grind it, much less to boil or bake it, lest the noise or smell should draw the rapacious Zealots to come and tear it from them. Not that they were in such a miserable state for want of provisions, but they had a double aim and end in this barbarous plunder ; i. e. the starving,

what they cruelly stiled all useless persons, and the keeping their own stores in reserve.

The famine raged in such a dreadful manner that an unhappy mother, (a Jewess,) was reduced to the extremity of butchering and eating her own child. This lady, whose name was Miriam, or Mary, had taken refuge, with a vast number of others, in this accursed city, from the beginning of the war. As famine increased, the factious Zealots, lived almost altogether upon the plunder of the helpless, had often forced into her house, and carried off such provisions as she was able to procure. She had often tried either by prayers to prevail on them, or by curses to provoke them to put an end to her miserable life : those inhuman monsters still thought it too great a mercy to be granted her.— Filled at length with fury, the intolerable cravings of hunger and despair, she snatches her sucking child from her bosom, cuts its throat, and broils him ; and having satisfied her present hunger, she hid the rest. The smell of it soon drew those voracious carrions again to her house ; they threatened to put her to the most excruciating tortures, if she did not discover her provision to them ; upon which she goes and brings them the sad relics of her mangled infant son, and sets it before them, and bids them to eat heartily, and not be squeamish, since she, the once tender mother of it, had butchered, dressed it, and made a meal of it.— At the sight of this horrid dish, those bloody hell hounds, who never had till then, felt the least spark of remorse or humanity, were seized with such dread, that they went off trembling out of the house, and left the astonished mother, (astonished that they should refuse a part of what she had eaten,) in possession of her dismal fare. Indeed it is enough to make humanity shudder and sicken at the narration ; nor can any one of sensibility reflect on the pitiable condition to which the female part of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, must at this time have been reduced, without experiencing the tenderest emotions of sympathy, or refrain from tears

while he reads the pathetic address of the tender Jesus to the women who "*bewailed him*," as he was led to Calvary, wherein he evidently refers to those very calamities. "*Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but for yourselves, and for your children; for, behold, the days are coming in which they shall say, Blessed are the barren, and the wombs that never bare, and the breasts that never gave suck.*"*

The above melancholy fact was also literally foretold by Moses; "*the tender and delicate woman among you, (said he, addressing Israel,) who would not adventure to set the sole of her foot upon the ground for delicateness and tenderness, her eye shall be evil—toward her young one—which she shall bear,*" and "*eat for want of all things, secretly, in the siege and straitness wherewith thine enemies shall distress thee in thy gates.*"† This prediction was partially fulfilled, when Samaria, the capitol of the revolted tribes was besieged by Benhadad; and afterwards at Jerusalem, previously to its exact and literal accomplishment, in relation to a lady of rank, delicately and voluptuously educated, was reserved for the period of which we are now speaking. And it deserves particular regard, as a circumstance which very greatly enhances the importance of this prophecy, that the history of the world does not record, that a parallel instance of unnatural barbarity ever occurred during the siege of any other place, in any other age, or nation whatsoever. Indeed, Josephus himself declares that, if there had not been many credible witnesses of the fact, he would not have recorded it, "because," as he remarks, "such a shocking violation of nature never having been perpetrated by any Greek or barbarian," the insertion of it might have diminished the credibility of his history.

* Luke xxiii. 29.

† Deut. xxxviii. 56, 57. And see the whole of this chapter, and compare it with this history, and see how exactly it was fulfilled. But it will be further noticed hereafter, as the most extraordinary prophecy for being so particularly fulfilled, as ever was delivered,

When this news was spread through the city, the horrors and consternation were as universal as inexpressible. It was then that they began to think themselves forsaken by the Divine Providence, and to expect the most terrible effects of his anger against the poor remains of their nation ; insomuch that they began to envy those who had perished before them, and to wish that their turn might come before the sad expected catastrophe. Their fears were but too just ; since Titus, at the very first hearing of this inhuman deed, swore the total extirpation of the city and people. “ Since,” said he, “ they have so often refused my proffers of pardon, and have preferred war to peace, rebellion to obedience, and famine, such a dreadful one especially, to plenty, I am determined to bury that cursed metropolis under its ruins, that the sun may never shine on a city, where the mothers feed on the flesh of their children, and the fathers no less guilty than they, chose to drive them to such extremities, rather than lay down their arms.*

While the city was in this dreadful situation, a Jew named Manneus fled to Titus, and informed him, that from the beginning of the siege, (14th of April,) to the first of July following, one hundred and fifteen thousand eight hundred and eighty dead bodies had been carried through one gate only, which he had guarded. This man had been appointed to pay, what was allowed by the public for carrying the dead bodies out, and was therefore obliged to register them. Soon after several respectable individuals deserted to the Romans, and assured Titus, that the whole number of the poor who had been cast out at the different gates was not less than six hundred thousand.

* There were many of the inhabitants who wished Titus success, and would have been very glad to surrender to him, that was the very thing they wished for, but it was the factious that had the power and governed, and if he could possibly have discriminated ; the innocent or those who were opposed to the rebellion should not have suffered with the guilty, or the obstinately rebellious factions, who would not surrender on any account.

The report of these calamities excited some pity in the Romans, and in a particular manner Titus, especially at the sight of such vast numbers of dead bodies, which for want of burying room, and probably on account of the trouble of burying, they threw down from their walls into the adjacent valleys, he raised his hands towards heaven, and appealing to the Almighty, solemnly protested, that he had not been the cause of these deplorable calamities; which the Jews by their unexampled wickedness, rebellion, and obstinacy had brought upon themselves, and which they might have prevented by a timely submission.

By about the end of July the Romans pursued their attacks with fresh vigour, in order to hasten the siege, and save if possible, the sad remains of that once glorious city and temple. But his pity proved still worse and worse bestowed on these obstinate wretches, who only became the more obstinate and furious by it.

The Romans advanced their last engines against the walls. To obtain materials they cut down all the trees, and destroyed a country well planted and interspersed with gardens, and beautiful orchards of all kinds of fruit trees, for more than twelve miles round the city, so completely as to render it a desert waste. They scaled the inner wall, and after a bloody encounter, and many slain on both sides, the Romans made themselves masters of the fortress of Antonio.

By this time the two factions within, but especially that of John, having plundered rich and poor of all they had, fell foul also of the treasury of the temple, whence John took a great quantity of golden utensils he found there, together with those magnificent gifts that had been presented to that sacred place by the Jewish kings; by Augustus, Livia, and many other foreign princes, and melted them all to his own use.

The repositories of the sacred oil, which was to maintain the lamps, and of the wine, which was reserved to accompany the usual sacrifices, were likewise seized upon, and turned into common use; and the last of this

to such excess, as to make himself and party drunk with it. All this while, not only the Zealots, but many of the people were still under such an unaccountable infatuation, that though the fortress of Antonia was lost, as hinted already, and nothing left but the temple, which the Romans were preparing to take, yet they could not persuade themselves, or be persuaded that God would suffer that holy place to be taken by heathen, and were still expecting some sudden and miraculous deliverance. Even that vile monster John, who commanded there, either seemed confident of it, or else endeavoured to make others think him so.

Josephus was sent for the last time to exhort John and his adherents to surrender, and he upbraided him of robbing the sacred temple, and exposing it, and the miserable remains of God's people, to sudden and sure destruction: he only answered him with the bitterest invectives, adding that he was defending the Lord's vineyard, which he was sure could not be taken by any human force, that it was God's own city, and he would protect it. Josephus, in vain reminded him of the many ways by which he had polluted both city and temple; and in particular of the seas of blood which he had caused to be shed in both these sacred places; and which, he assured him, from the old prophecies, were a certain sign and forerunner of their speedy destruction.* John remained as inflexible, as if all the prophets had assured him of a deliverance; which shews the bad effects of a blind and judiacal infatuation: and thus literally fulfilling the declaration of Micah, that the Jews, in their extremity, notwithstanding their crimes, would presumptuously "*lean upon the Lord, and say, is not the Lord among us? none evil can come upon us.*"†

However a great many of the Jews were so moved by Josephus's discourse, that they soon fled to the Ro-

* Besides the prophecies of Christ relating to the destruction of Jerusalem, there are many others in the Old Testament that speak of this great event, or that very plainly alluded to it. Particularly the xlviii. chap. of Deut. and xi. and xii. chap. of Zech. Daniel ix. 26, 27, &c.

† Mich. iii. 14.

mans, and among them some of the first rank and note, particularly Joseph the son of Cabbi, and Jesus the son of Demneus, who had both been high priests. Titus gave them a very favourable and respectable reception, and sent them to Gophna, till the conclusion of the war; but he was forced to send for them back again, to contradict a report, which the factious had cunningly spread, of their having been put to death.

At length Titus, foreseeing the inevitable ruin of that magnificent edifice, the temple, which he was still extremely desirous to save, condescended even himself, to speak to them, and persuade them to surrender; but the factious looking upon this condescension as the effects of his fear, rather than generosity, only grew the more furious upon it, and forced him at last to come to these extremities, which he had hitherto endeavoured to avoid. That his army, which was to attack the temple might have the freer passage towards it, through the castle Antonia; he caused a considerable part of the wall to be pulled down and levelled; which proved so very strong, that it took him seven days, by which they were far advanced in the month of July.

It was on the seventh of that month, that the daily sacrifice ceased,* for the first time since its restoration by Judas Maccabeas; there being no proper person in the temple to offer it up any longer.

Titus challenged the Zealots to leave the temple, and fight on more proper ground, in order to preserve that sacred edifice from the fury of his troops. Titus in a council of war, had determined to preserve the temple, as an ornament to the empire, and as a monument of his success; but it appears as if the Almighty had determined otherwise, for now, in the revolution of ages—was arrived, that fatal day “the 10th of August, emphatically called a “day of vengeance,”† on which the temple on the same day and hour had been destroyed by the king of Babylon.

* Daniel viii. 12.

† Luke xxi. 22.

While Titus was reposing himself in his pavilion, a Roman soldier, without receiving any command, urged, as he declared, by a divine, or some supernatural impulse, (and which Josephus appears to have believed,) threw a flaming fire brand into one of the golden windows of the temple ; which instantly set the building on fire. The Jews now began to think God had forsaken them sure enough ; but anxious above all things to save that sacred building, in which they superstitiously trusted for security, with a dreadful outcry and lamentation, they rushed in to extinguish the flames.

Titus being awakened by the outcry, hastened to the spot, and commanded his soldiers to exert their utmost abilities to extinguish the fire. He called, prayed and threatened, but all in vain ; the confusion was so great, and the soldiers so obstinately bent upon destroying all that was left, that he was neither heard nor minded.—The Romans wilfully deaf, instead of extinguishing the flames spread them wider and wider. Actuated by the fiercest impulses of rancour and revenge against the Jews, they rushed furiously upon them, slaying some with the swords, trampling others under their feet, or crushing them to death against the walls. Many falling among the smoking ruins of the porches and galleries were suffocated. The unarmed poor, and even sick persons, were slaughtered without mercy. Of these unhappy people, numbers were left weltering in their gore, multitudes of the dead and dying, were heaped round about the altar, which had been the place to fly for protection, while the steps that led from it into the outer court were covered with blood.

Titus finding it impossible to restrain the impetuosity and cruelty of his soldiers, and finding all his endeavours to preserve the temple were in vain, he with some of his superior officers, entered into the sanctuary, and the most holy place, to take a view of those parts of the edifice, which were still uninjured by the conflagration. It had not at this time reached the inner temple : which Titus viewed with silent admiration,

struck with the magnificence of its architecture, and the beauty of its decorations, which exceeded all that had been told of it. Out of the former he saved the golden candlestick, the table of shew bread, the altar of perfumes, all of pure gold, and the book or volume of the law, wrapped up in a rich golden tissure.

And perceiving the sanctuary had not yet caught fire, he redoubled his efforts to stop the progress of the flames. He condescended even to entreat his soldiers to exert all their strength and activity for this porpose, and appointed a centurion of the guard to punish them, if they again disregarded him! but all was in vain.—The delirious rage of the soldiery knew no bounds. Eager for plunder and for slaughter, they alike contemned the solicitations, and the threatenings of their general. Even while he was thus intent upon the preservation of the sanctuary, one of the soldiers directly after he left it, set fire to it.

A horrid massacre soon followed, in which prodigious multitudes perished. The Romans exasperated to the highest pitch against the Jews, seized every person whom they could find, and without the least regard to age, sex or quality, first plundered, and then slew them.

The old and the young, the common people and the priests, those who surrendered and those who resisted, were equally involved in this horrible and indiscriminate carnage. Upwards of six thousand persons, who had been seduced by a false prophet with hopes of a miracle's deliverance, had fled to a gallery yet standing without the temple. Whilst they waited in anxious expectation of the promised miracle, the Romans with the most wanton barbarity, set fire to the gallery; from which, multitudes rendered frantick by their horrible situation, precipitated themselves on the ruins below, and were killed by the fall; while, awful to relate, the rest, without a single exception, perished in the flames. So necessary was our Lord's second promonition, not to give credit to "*false prophets*," who should pretend to shew "*great signs and wonders*." In this last caution,

as the connection of the prophecy demonstrates, he evidently refers to the period of the siege, but in the former to the interval immediately preceding the Jewish wars.*

They also burnt all the treasure houses, containing vast quantities of money, plate and the richest furniture, vestments, and other things of value, which had been laid up in those places for security.

Meanwhile the temple continued burning, until at length, vast as was its size, the flames completely enveloped the whole building ; which from the extent of the conflagration, impressed the distant spectator with an idea that the whole city was now on fire. Those on the hill and those in the city seemed mutually to return the groans of each other.

Such as were expiring through famine, were revived by this scene, and seemed to acquire new spirits to deplore their misfortunes. The lamentations from the city were re-echoed from the adjacent mountains and places beyond Judea. The flames which enveloped the temple were so violent and impetuous, that the lofty hill on which it stood appeared, even from its foundations, as one large fire. The blood of the sufferers flowed in proportion to the rage of this destructive element, and the ground could not be seen for the dead bodies, over which the Romans trampled in pursuit of fugitives, while the crackling noise of the devouring flames, mingled with the clang of the arms, the groans of the dying, and the shrieks of despair, augmented the tremendous horror of a scene, to which the page of history can furnish no comparison.

Many of the Zealots by the most vigorous exertions, had escaped the fury of the Romans, and retired from the temple into the city, but the avenues were so strictly guarded every where, that there was no possibility left them to get out ; they therefore fortified themselves as well as they could on the south side of it ; from whence Simon, and John of Gischala, sent to desire a confer-

* Matt. xxiv. Compare verses 5, and 23 to 26.

ence with Titus. They were answered, that though they had been the cause of all this ruin and effusion of blood, yet they should have their lives spared, if they would lay down their arms, and surrender themselves prisoners. They replied, that "they had engaged, by the most solemn oaths, not to deliver up their persons to him, on any condition," and only begged leave to retire into the mountains with their wives and children. The Roman general, enraged at this insolence, ordered proclamation to be made, to stand to their defence ; for that not one of them should be spared, since they had rejected his last offers of pardon.

Immediately after this, he abandoned the city to the fury of his soldiers, who plundered, burnt and massacred with insatiable rage, all that came in their way ; and burning the dead bodies, which were scattered over every street, and the floors of almost every house.—The factious now went and fortified themselves in the royal palace, in the upper and strongest part of Jerusalem, where the Jews had took refuge and deposited their property, having considered it a place of the most safety. They attacked it, killed eight thousand four hundred of their countrymen, and plundered their property, (what astonishing conduct !) In the mean time great preparations were making for a vigorous attack on the upper city, especially on the royal palace, and this took them from the 20th of August, to the seventh of September ; during which time great numbers came and made their submission to Titus : among whom were forty thousand of the inferior, or common people, who came and implored his mercy and pardon, and he gave them leave to go and settle where they choose. The truth is, that they had already gorged themselves with so much blood, that they were sick of it.

And as for the prisoners, they were so very numerous already, that they could not find buyers for them, though they offered them at the lowest price, or for a mere trifle, according as Moses had told them, that for disobedience and wickedness, they should be sold for bondmen and

bondwomen, and no man to buy them.”* Two priests he spared, on their promising to discover to him a private place in the wall of the temple, where they found two candlesticks, some tables, cups, and other vessels of massy gold, with many precious stones, rich garments and other costly things.

By this time the warlike engines played so furiously against the factious, that they were taken with a sudden panick ; and instead of fleeing into the towers of Hippocos, Phasaël or Mariamne, which was yet untaken, and so strong that nothing but famine could have subdued them, they ran like madmen towards Shiloah, with a design to have escaped out of the city ; but being there repulsed, they ran and hid themselves in vaults, caverns, sinks, sewers, and all subterraneous places they could find, some one way and some another, in which dismal retreats, many were found by the soldiers and put to death, and no fewer than two thousand were afterwards found dead. Thus as the innocent Jesus had predicted, did those miserable creatures in effect, say “ to the mountains fall on us and to the hills cover us.”† But what become of those two grand rebels and wicked wretches, Simon and John ? John being pinched with hunger, came out first ; and, having begged his life, it was granted, but was condemned to imprisonment for life. Simon whose retreat was better stored with provisions held out till towards the end of October, when necessity forced him out, he was seized by the Romans, and after being conveyed to Rome, his end was by being severely scourged, and dragged through the streets with a rope round his neck, and thus put to death with some others of his gang. Thus terminated this memorable siege, (as never was the like before, nor I hope will never be again,) on the 8th day of September, A. D. 72. Its duration was nearly five months, the Romans having invested the city on the 14th day of the preceding April.

* Deut. xxii. 68.

† Luke xxiii. 30.

The city being now completely in possession of the Romans, they hoisted their colours upon the towers, and burst forth into the most triumphant acclamations. After this, all annoyance from the Jews being at an end, the soldiers gave an unbridled license to their fury against the inhabitants. They first plundered, and then set fire to the houses. They ranged through the streets with drawn swords in their hands, murdering every Jew whom they could find without distinction;* till at length the bodies of the dead choked up all the alleys and narrow passes, while their blood literally flowed down the streets in streams. As it drew towards the evening, the soldiers exchanged the sword for the torch, and amidst the darkness of the awful night, set fire to the remaining part of the city. And Jerusalem once, "a praise in all the earth," and the subject of a thousand prophecies, deprived of the staff of life, wrapt in flames, and bleeding on every side, sunk into utter ruin and desolation.

The temple now presented little more than a heap of ruins; and the Roman army, as in triumph on the event, came and reared their ensigns against a fragment of the eastern gate, and, proclaimed the imperial majesty of Titus, with every possible demonstration of joy.

Thus terminated the glory, and the existence of this sacred and venerable edifice, which, from its stupendous size, its massy solidity, and astonishing strength, would have stood till this time, yea and thousands of years longer, if it had not have been for sin, which sooner or later is the downfall and ruin of every thing in this world, no human art or power, can withstand its infernal force.

For five days after the destruction of the temple, the priests who had escaped, sat pining with hunger, on the

* Many of the inhabitants had been opposed to the rebellion, and would have submitted at first if they could have done it, and thus to put those to death, the innocent or peaceable, with the guilty and obstinate, was unjust and wicked. Titus is considered to have been a mild and merciful man. But he was only so in comparison to other emperors and generals before him, much more cruel and wicked. After the inhabitants had surrendered, what was it but acting like savages, to indiscriminately murder and burn.

top of one of its broken walls ; at length through necessity, they came down and humbly asked the pardon of Titus, which, however, he refused to grant them, saying that, " as the temple for the sake of which he would have spared them, was destroyed, it was but fit that its priests should perish also ;"—whereupon he commanded that they should be put to death.*

Eleven thousand Jews, guarded by one of the generals, named Fronto, were literally starved to death.—This melancholy occurrence happened partly through the scarcity of provisions, and partly through their own obstinacy, and the negligence of the Romans.

Before Titus left Jerusalem to return to Rome, he took a survey of the miserable city, and its fortifications ; and, while contemplating their impregnable strength, could not help ascribing his success to the peculiar interposition of the Almighty, " had not God," he exclaimed, aided our operations, and driven the Jews from their fortresses, it would have been absolutely impossible to have taken them ; for what could men, and the force of engines, have done against such towers as these." If the Jews had been united the Romans could never have took the city but by starvation. And there was provision enough in the city to last the inhabitants several years, but the mad factions in their fury, and striving to injure each other, destroyed it. Union, is the strength of any people, city or nation ; but little union can exist among a wicked people, it is only a righteous and good people that can become united and continue so. A good spirit unites people together, and makes them feel love, tenderness, and kindness towards each other. And such cannot do any thing to injure one another. Oh may the people of America, at present our highly favoured country, possess and continue to possess that spirit of which I have spoken, then never, never need they fear any foreign foe, for no civil war

* This was a wanton barbarous act, similar to what I have mentioned in the last note.

can ever subsist among them. How much more preferable, amiable and happifying is this spirit, or disposition of love, than that which raged among the factious Jews, which finally was their ruin. Now here we see, and may all who read, see and remember, the rock on which others have split, and endeavour to avoid it. For true are the words of Christ, "whosoever shall fall on this stone," or rock, "shall be broken, but on whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind him," (comparatively speaking,) to powder.

But to leave this digression and return to our subject. After Titus had took a survey of the city, as mentioned, and the sword had returned to its scabbard, for want of objects, and the troops were satisfied with plunder; he commanded the whole city and temple to be demolished to a level with the ground, according to Christ's prediction,* except only three lofty towers, Hippocos, Phasaël, and Mariamne, which he suffered to remain, and part of the wall to the west, to give posterity an idea of the strength of the city, and as trophies of his victory, and as a rampart for a garrison to keep the surrounding country in subjection.

In executing the command of Titus, relative to the demolition of Jerusalem, the Roman soldiers not only burnt and threw down the buildings, but even dug up their foundations, and so completely levelled the whole circuit of the city, that a stranger would scarcely have known that it had ever been inhabited with human beings. Thus was this great city, which, only five months before, had been crowded with not only its own inhabitants, but such a large concourse, as before mentioned, from all parts of the surrounding country and shut up as in a prison, altogether upwards of two million of people, who gloried in its impregnable strength, en-

* If all that was done, had been done intentionally to fulfil the prophecies, particularly those of Christ, not any thing could have been done less or more than was done.—indeed Josephus, by his interceding with the Jews, to accept the offers made them, acted as if he wished to hinder their full accomplishment.

tirely depopulated, and levelled with the ground. And thus, also, was verified our Lord's predictions, "*that her enemies should, 'lay her even with the ground,' and 'should not leave in her one stone upon another.'*"* Most strikingly and fully accomplished!—This fact is confirmed by Eusebius, who asserts that he himself saw the city lying in ruins; and Josephus introduces Eleazar as exclaiming, "where is our great city, which, it was believed, God inhabited? It is altogether rooted and torn up from its foundation; concerning the temple, our Lord had foretold, particularly that, notwithstanding their wonderful dimensions, there should "*not be left one stone upon another that should not be thrown down.*" And accordingly, it is recorded that Terentius Rufus, captain in Titus's army, absolutely ploughed up the foundations of the temple. Now, also, was literally fulfilled that prophecy of Micah—"Therefore shall Zion for your sakes," (i. e. for your wickedness,) "*be ploughed as a field, and Jerusalem shall become heaps, and the mountain of the Lord's house as the high places of the forest.*"†

Thus awfully complete, and severe beyond example, were the calamities, which befell the Jewish nation, especially the city of Jerusalem. With what truth then did our Lord declare, that there should "*be great tribulation, such as was not since the beginning of the world, to this time, no nor ever shall be.*" Such was the prediction: the language in which Josephus declares its fulfilment is an exact counterpart to it: "if the misfortune," says he, "of all nations, from the beginning of the world, were compared with these which befell the Jews, they would appear far less in comparison;" and again, "no other city ever suffered such things, as no other generation, from the beginning of the world, was ever more fruitful in wickedness." These were indeed "*the days of vengeance, that all things which are writ-*

* Luke xix. 44.

† Mic. iii. 12.

ten," (especially by Moses, Joel and Daniel,) "*might be fulfilled.*" Nor were the calamities of the poor Jews even now ended. Three strong castles still remained unsubdued, the one called Herodian, and the other Mas-sada on this side of Jordan, about twenty miles east, or rather south east from Jerusalem, and Macherus on the east side of Jordan. The first of them was soon after taken by capitulation, by Lucilius Bassus, who had been appointed lieutenant of Judea. He went presently after, at the head of a large number of troops, to besiege that of Macherus, which was a very strong place, and likely to hold out a long time, but there was in that castle a young nobleman highly esteemed for his value, who, after having given the besiegers a stout re-pulse in a sally, unfortunately strayed out of the gates, to speak to the people on the wall by way of bravado. An Egyptian, then in the Roman army, came swiftly behind him unperceived, took him up in his arms and carried him off. When Bassus got the noble youth in his power, he caused him to be stripped naked, and severely scourged in the view of the besieged, who filled immediately the air with their cries, and all the city was in tears for this one man. Bassus, perceiving them so moved at the sight, caused a cross to be erected, and gave them to understand, that he would crucify him unless they prevented it by a timely surrender. This stratagem had the desired effect, and the Jews, not being so hardened as those of Jerusalem, chose to capitulate, and soon after surrendered the place on condition that they should have liberty to retire whither they pleased ; which was granted to them. But those in the lower part of the city, receiving intelligence of this agreement resolved to fly away in the night. Some escaped, the rest were slain to the number of seventeen hundred. The women and children were made slaves.

Many of the Jews who had fled from Jerusalem and from Macherus during the siege, had assembled in a forest called Jordes. Hither Bassus came, and attacked them, and after a desperate combat on both sides to-

tally defeated them, and slew not less than three thousand, with Judas their chief, who had saved himself out of Jerusalem, through one of the aqueducts of that city.—Death having prevented Bassus, from putting an end to the war, Flavius Silva, his successor, assembled all his forces to attack Massada, now the only remaining fortress in the rebels hands. The place was prodigious strong, both by nature and art, and well stored with provisions, and defended by Eleazar, often mentioned before, a man of undaunted courage ; he baffled the attacks of the Romans. At length, when the Jews found that there was no hope of saving themselves, or their fortress from the enemy, Eleazar instigated the garrison to burn the valuable stores of the castle, and rather than submit to the Romans, to destroy first the women and children and then themselves. Dreadful as it is to relate, this horrid design was executed. Ten were chosen to perform this bloody work ; the rest sat on the ground, having embraced and bid their wives and children adieu, stretched out their necks to the sword : one was afterwards appointed to destroy the remaining nine, and then himself. The survivor, when he had looked round to see that all were slain, set fire to the place, and then plunged his sword into his own bosom. Two women and five children had concealed themselves, and witnessed the whole transaction.

They advanced to the attack in the morning, but all was silent, and while they were wondering what it meant ; the women came and gave them an account of this melancholy affair, which the Romans were not very ready to believe, because the greatness of the fact seemed incredible. They endeavoured to quench the fire, and passing forward they came to where the dead bodies lay, and were struck with amazement at the contempt of death which had been displayed by the Jews.

After this terrible event, all opposition on the part of the Jews ceased. It was the submission of impotence and despair. The peace that ensued was the effect of the direst necessity. The rich territory of Judea was

converted into a desolate waste ; every where ruin and desolation presented itself to the solitary passenger, and a melancholy and death-like silence reigned over the whole region. The mournful and desolate condition of Judea at this time, is exactly described by the prophet Isaiah. “ *The cities were wasted without inhabitant, and the houses without man, and the land be utterly desolate, and the Lord have removed men far away, and there is a great forsaking in the midst of the land.*”*

Of all the Jews destroyed in Jerusalem during the siege, Josephus reckons not less than *one million one hundred thousand*, and above *two hundred and thirty-seven thousand* who perished in other places. The following is a particular statement of the whole amount, of those who perished in the several places throughout the kingdom, from the beginning to the end of the war, which the reader may be pleased to see, as it were at one view.

At Jerusalem by Governor Florus's orders, to revenge on the inhabitants on account of a dispute they had had with him					630
By the inhabitants of Cesarea,	-	-	-	-	20,000†
At Sythopolis,	-	-	-	above	13,000
At Ascalon,	-	-	-	-	2,500
At Petolemais,	-	-	-	-	2,000
At Alexandria,	-	-	-	-	50,000‡
Joppa when it was taken by Cestius Gallus,	§				8;400
In a mountain, called, Asmon,	-	-	-	-	2,000
At Damascus,	-	-	-	-	10,000
In a battle with the Romans at Ascalon,					10,000
In an ambush near the same place,	-	-	-	-	8,000
At his taking of Japha, (25th of June,)					15,000
Of the Samaritans, (27th June,)	-	-	-	-	11,600
					<hr/> 153,130

* Isaiah vi. 11, 12.

† See page 38. ‡ The first line page 39, is printed by mistake, 20,000, but it should be as above 50,000. § page 39. || 44.

	Brought forward,	153,130
At Jotapata, (July 1,) where Josephus commanded,	- - - -	40,000*
At Joppa, by a sudden and severe storm,		4,200
At Terichea, - - - -		6,500
And afterwards, - - - -		12,000
At Gamala, (Oct. 23,) - - -		4,000
And those at the same place for fear of the Romans, and rather than be ta- ken by them, threw themselves down a steep precipice, and per- ished,	- - - -	5,000†
Of those who fled, with John from Gischala,		6,000†
Of the Gadarenes, - - - -		13,000
Besides a vast uncertain number drowned, In the villages of Idumea, above -	-	10,000
At Garaza, - - - -		1,000
At Macherus, - - - -		1,700
In the deserts of Jarden, - - -		3,000
Of those who slew themselves, in the cas- tle Masada, - - - -		0,960
In Cyrene, - - - -		3,000
Perished in Jerusalem by the sword, fire, famine and pestilence - - -		1,100,000
		<hr/>
		1,363,490

Besides a vast multitude, of every age, sex and condition, that were slain, and died by famine, pestilence, and in caves, woods, banishment, and many other ways of which no calculation could be made. And Josephus says, many more, and vast multitudes destroyed at certain times and places, and to these we must add the 97,000 prisoners, doomed to a captivity worse than death. The tallest and handsomest young men, together with several of the Jewish noblemen, were reserved by Titus to grace his triumphant entry into Rome. Of the cap-

* See page 42.

† 45.

‡ 46.

tives, 11,000 of them perished for want of provisions. And the number who were burnt, and who were compelled to fight, with, and were destroyed by wild beasts, and compelled to fight in troops against each other, and that were sacrificed as gladiators in the amphitheatres, according to the barbarous practice of those times, were upwards of two thousand. Which numbers, altogether destroyed, would appear almost incredible, if their own historians had not so punctually enumerated them. Thus were the poor Jews miserably tormented, and dispersed all over the Roman provinces, and also among all the nations of the earth.



CHAPTER IX.

A review of the past ; containing some observations and reflections thereon.

The past astonishing scenes that have been related, cannot but be deemed the most extraordinary that has happened since the foundation of the world ; according to what Christ said, “ *Such as was not since the beginning of the world to this time, nor ever shall be.*” And as it has pleased the Almighty, to make it the subject of a very large proportion of the prophecies, both of the Jewish and christian scriptures, so he hath ordained the particular events which accomplished them, should be recorded, with very remarkable precision, and by a man most singularly preserved,* qualified, and circumstanced for this purpose. But with respect to this latter point, he may speak for himself. “ At first he, i. e. Josephus, says, I fought against the Romans, but was afterwards taken and forced to be present in the Roman camp. At the time I surrendered, Vespasian and Titus kept me in bonds, but obliged me to attend them continually. Afterwards I was set at liberty, and accompanied Titus when he came from

* Several times his life was preserved as by a miracle.

Alexandria to the siege of Jerusalem.—During this time nothing was done which escaped my knowledge. What happened in the Roman camp I saw, and wrote down carefully. As to the information the deserters brought out of the city, I was the only man that understood it. Afterwards I got leisure at Rome ; and when all my materials were prepared, I procured the help of one to assist me in writing Greek.—Thus I composed the history of these transactions, and appealed to Titus and Vespasian for the truth of it ; to which Julius Archelaus, Herod, and king Agrippa, bore their testimony.” It should not be forgotten that Josephus was a Jew, zealously attached to his religion ; and that, although he has circumstantially related every remarkable event of these times, he seems studiously to have avoided such as had any reference to Jesus Christ. Except what he sums up in about ten lines folio, and even the genuineness of this is disputed by the learned, and said by some to have been an interpolation, or written afterwards by some other person.* No one, therefore, can reasonably entertain a suspicion, that the benefit he has rendered to christianity, by his narrative of the transactions of the Jewish war, was at all the effect of design. The fidelity of Josephus as an historian, is indeed, universally admitted, Scaliger even affirms, that, not only in the affairs of the Jews, but in those of foreign nations also, he deserves more credit than all the Greek and Roman writers put together.

Nor is the peculiar character of Titus, the chief commander in this war, unworthy of our particular regard.

* I rather think it is genuine. It is as follows. “ At that time was Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was the performer of divers admirable works, and the instructor of those who willingly entertain the truth ; and he drew unto him divers Jews and Greeks to be his followers. This was Christ, who being accused by the princes of our nation before Pilate and afterwards condemned to the cross by him, yet did not those who followed him from the beginning, forbear to love him for the ignominy of his death. For he appeared alive to them the third day after, according as the divine prophets had before testified the same, and divers other wonderful things of him ; and from that time forward the race of the christians, who have derived their name from him, hath never ceased.”

Vespasian his father, had risen out of obscurity, and was elected emperor, about the commencement of the conflict ; and thus the chief command devolved upon Titus, the most unlikely man throughout the Roman armies to become a scourge to Jerusalem. He was eminently distinguished, for one of that day, for his tenderness and humanity,* which he displayed in a variety of instances during the siege. He repeatedly made pacifick offers to the Jews, and lamented the infatuation that rejected them. In short he did every thing, which a military commander could do, to spare them, and to preserve their city, but without effect.— Thus was the prophecies fulfilled by the agency, though contrary to the will of Titus.

The predictions are the clearest, as the calamities were the greatest the world ever saw ; and what heinous sin was it, that could bring down such heavy judgments on the Jewish church and nation : can any other with so much probability be assigned, as what the scripture assigns : their "*crucifying the Lord of glory*," as St. Paul expresses it.† "*They both killed the Lord Jesus, and their own prophets, and persecuted the apostles,*" and so "*filled up their sins, and wrath came upon them to the uttermost.*"‡ And what a singular correspondence and retaliation there is between their crime and their punishment. It is such that it is well worthy of our observation. They put Jesus to death when the nation was assembled to celebrate the passover ; and when the nation was assembled to celebrate the passover, Titus shut them up within the walls of Jerusalem. The re-

* Mankind in general are much more humane and tender latterly than formerly, at least the civilized part of the world, for real and pure religion, the religion of Christ, breathes *love, tenderness, and benevolence* towards all, even to enemies, and it has had some effect in softening the hearts of mankind. And it is a great pity it had not its full effect, then would all animosity, wars and cruelty cease throughout the earth ; then would *charity and friendship* be cultivated, and individuals and nations, would endeavour to lessen the evils of this life and make each other happy, instead of contriving every way to make each other miserable.

† 1 Cor. ii. 8,

‡ 1 Thess. ii. 16.

jection of the true Messiah was their crime ; and the following false messiahs was their destruction. Jesus was sold and bought by them as a slave ; and they themselves were afterwards sold and bought as slaves at the lowest prices. They preferred a robber and murderer to Jesus, whom they crucified between two thieves ; and afterwards they were infested with bands of murderers, thieves and robbers. They put Jesus to death, lest the Romans *should come and take away their place and nation* ; and the Romans *did come and take away their place and nation*. They crucified Jesus before the walls of Jerusalem ; and before the walls of Jerusalem, they themselves were crucified in great numbers. They instigated a Roman to put Jesus to death, and by the Romans they were not only crucified, but put to death in various other ways. They scourged and made a mock and derision of Jesus, and many of them were scourged, mocked and derided. They pierced Jesus after he was dead, to know if he was dead, and many of them were pierced in the same manner after they were dead, for the same purpose. It is hardly possible to lay these things together, and consider of all that's past, and not conclude the Jews own imprecations, to be remarkably fulfilled upon them. "*His blood be upon us and our children.*"

I think it must be acknowledged by those who do not believe in the divine mission of Christ, that he was the Messiah and Saviour ; that there was something very extraordinary in his predictions respecting the Jews.—We will take a brief review of, and consider them a little.

He foretold that Jerusalem was to be destroyed by the Romans and so it was. But was this then a likely event ? When Judea was already completely in their hands. Was it a probable thing, as says an anonymous writer, that it should be desolated by its own masters ? Or was it a natural thing that they should be indifferent to the revenue which was derived from a country so populous and fertile ? Again, was it likely that this

petty province, in comparison of the Roman empire, should provoke the wrath, or defy the power of that Universal empire? Or was it to be supposed that the mistress of the world, irresistible to all nations, instead of controlling, should deem it worthy of her to utterly exterminate a state comparatively so insignificant? Or did it accord with the disposition or custom of the Romans, like Goths, to demolish buildings famed for their antiquity and magnificence, they never had treated their enemies with utter destruction, and it was not their practice, therefore it was rather to have been expected, that they would preserve them, to maintain the renown and grandeur of their empire? Nevertheless, as we have seen, they did destroy them. And even the illustrious temple, the chief ornament of Asia, and the *wonder of the world*. But it was predicted, *that thus it must be* : and therefore Titus himself, with all his authority and exertions, could not prevent it.

But there are a number of very material circumstances closely interwoven with the prophecy, that still further identify the events, which fulfilled it, and demonstrate that the prophecy itself was something very different from a happy conjecture, from the appearance of the times or conclusions from past experience. For our Lord foretold as "*the beginning of sorrows*," that terrible calamities would prevail in various parts of the world, before the destruction of Jerusalem, which we have seen was the case, and he did not describe these calamities in general terms merely, but particularly specified them : that there should be rumours of wars, and actual wars—nation rising against nation,—kingdom against kingdom, famines, pestilence, and earthquakes in divers places, all which come to pass, as we have seen. False prophets also, were not merely to arise—but to personate the Messiah, to pretend to miraculous powers, and to deceive many ; and such were the characters and success of those which actually appeared. Again, the prognostics are not described as *sights*, merely, but as *fearful sights*, and as *great signs from heaven*,

(i. e. the ethereal heavens,) and such they were. These wonderful appearances stand last in the prophecy, and accordingly they occurred, just before the war.

The siege of Jerusalem was to take place *suddenly as a snare*, which predictions, as we have seen, were accomplished in the most surprising manner.

And our Saviour, also declared, that *except those days should be shortened, there should no flesh be saved*; if these wars and desolations were to continue, none of the Jews would escape destruction, they would all be cut off root and branch, as some other nations have been, and only known in history. If the Romans had gone on destroying in the manner they did, the whole nation of the Jews would in a little time have been extirpated. *But for the elect's sake*, for the sake of the christian Jews, and some righteous persons, for undoubtedly there were some who did not know of Christ, or had not heard of him, *those days shall be shortened*, and they were shortened accordingly. Titus himself was desirous of putting a speedy end to the siege. Some of his officers proposed to him to turn the siege into a blockade, and since they could not take the city by storm, to starve it into a surrender: but he thought it not becoming to sit still with so great an army; and he feared least the length of the time should diminish the honor of his success. And the conduct of the Jews themselves, hastened the capture of their city by intestine divisions and mutual slaughters; and madness of the factious in burning store houses full of provisions, and thus wasting the strength which was necessary for the defence of the place, and by the wonderful panick with which the Jews were seized, when the Romans made their final attack on the higher city, in consequence of which they fled affrighted from their strong holds, which Titus afterwards pronounced to be impregnable: and by the crowded state of the city during the siege, which as before remarked, hastened famine, and pestilent diseases. By these means the days were shortened; and otherwise Jerusalem could not have been taken in so short a time, so well

fortified as it was, and so well prepared to stand a long siege. The enemy without could hardly ever prevailed, but for the civil war within.

Jesus had said, *as the lightning cometh out of the east and shineth even unto the west; so shall also the coming of the son of man be. For wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together;* by the word carcase is meant the Jewish nation, which was considered as dead; and by the eagles is meant the Roman army, whose very ensign was an eagle, to which probably our Saviour in this passage alluded. It is very remarkable that the Roman army entered into Judea on the east side of it, and carried on their conquest westward. So exactly did Jesus foresee and foretell, not only the extensiveness of the ruin, but the very rout which the army would take, which was intended in the comparison of the *light coming out of the east and shining even unto the west.* And like the lightning that enlighteneth all around, so the Romans was not confined to this or that place, but like a flood over-run the whole land, there was no part of Judea, which did not partake of the calamities of the capital city.

Jesus likewise foretold that his followers should escape the destruction of Jerusalem; and accordingly, whilst countless multitudes of unbelieving Jews were fatally involved in this calamity, not a single christian perished therein, for he had said, "*not a hair of their heads should perish.*"* Who, that seriously meditates hereon, can help exclaiming with the psalmist, "*verily, there is a reward for the righteous, verily, there is a God who judgeth in the earth,*"† and who "*knoweth how to deliver the godly out of temptations, and to reserve the unjust unto the day of judgment to be punished.*"‡

Again, our Lord foretold, that before the destruction of Jerusalem, the "*gospel should be preached in all the world, as a witness unto all nations.*" This prediction, as we have already seen, was also accomplished, which

* Luke xxi. 1.

† Psal. lviii. 11.

‡ 2 Pet. ii. 9.

was at the time predicted, the most unlikely, and which almost every thing that could be thought of or mentioned stood in opposition to it. Our Jesus further predicted, that the then existing generation, should not "*pass away before all these things, of which he foretold, were fulfilled.*" And accordingly they were fulfilled within forty years from the time of the prophecy. He had also intimated, that the Evangelist John should survive the destruction of Jerusalem; and he did so, more than twenty-five years, and he died at Ephesus, nearly one hundred years old. (I have read somewhere, that he being so old he was past preaching, but was carried to meeting, and all he said, for some time before his death, was, "*Brethren, love one another.*") How came it to pass that he who foresaw the persecutions of his disciples, though this was no more than what might be expected, but that he should predict that one of the most distinguished, and zealous among them should escape martyrdom, and died a natural death. John, must have been strong in the faith, having heard his master deliver those predictions, and having lived to see them all fulfilled, and I think it must strengthen some, and one might suppose all who read this work, in the faith also; for admitting the truth of the record, we know as much of the predictions, and their fulfilment as John did. But no matter how strong we are in the faith that Jesus was a true prophet, and the Christ, the Saviour of the world, unless we are saved from our sins by obedience to him, or if our lives do not correspond with our faith. But to proceed.

The history of the Jews subsequent, or after the wars, down even to our times, still further corroborates the truth of our Saviour's predictions concerning that oppressed and persecuted people, as we shall see in the next chapters. Jesus has foretold that they should, "*fall by the edge of the sword, and be led away captive into all nations; and that Jerusalem should be trodden down of the gentiles,* until the times of the gentiles be fulfilled.*" The

* Luke xxi. 24.

undisputed facts, are, that Jerusalem has *not* since been in possession of the Jews, but has constantly been in subjection to some other nation, as first to the Romans, afterwards, to the Arabic, Saracens, and then to the Franks, then to the Mamelucs, and lastly, to the Turks who now possess it. A more particular account will be hereafter given. It has never regained its former distinction and prosperity. It has always been trodden down by other nations, and a Mohomedan mosque, to the extent of a mile in circumference, now covers the spot where the temple formerly stood. The territory of Judea, then one of the most fertile countries on the globe, has for about 1752 years continued a desolate waste. The Jews themselves, still wonderfully preserved a distinct people, scattered over the whole earth, and to shew how they were treated after the destruction of Jerusalem, and of their condition in the various places to which they were scattered, with a continuation of the history of Jerusalem, shall be our next subject, which will be a further proof, of the truth, of not only the prophecies of Christ, but many prophecies delivered, long before him; of which some notice will be taken hereafter.

PART III.

A history of the Jews, and of Jerusalem from the time of its destruction, to the present day.

CHAPTER X.

The state of the Jews, after their dispersion under Pagan Rome.

THE condition of the Jews, after the destruction of their capital, was wretched. Their country was almost depopulated. The once flourishing country of Judea was, in many places, covered with dead bodies; and of the celebrated cities which existed formerly, such as Caparnaum, Bethsaida, and Chorazin, nothing of them was left but ruins. Some old women and men were permitted to remain in Jerusalem; but all the others, were removed, and either scattered or sold.

After the war was terminated, the emperor ordered all the lands in Judea to be sold. The Jews who remained in Judea, were mostly those who had not rebelled, or who had surrendered, were for the exercise of their religion ordered to pay a tax, which had been destined annually for the service of the temple. Although this sum assessed on the head of each individual was so trifling that it did not exceed twenty-five cents, yet the use that was made of it, and the severity with which it was exacted, caused the Jews to consider it a very great grievance.

Domitian, brother to Titus, who succeeded to the sovereignty of the Roman empire, increased the calamities of these poor people. He extorted the payment of the taxes, with the utmost rigour, and endeavoured to destroy all the race of David; and persecuted them with the christians, and many of the Jews as well as christians, suffered death. The Romans were too little

acquainted with religion, to be able to distinguish between the faith of Jews and christians. Both were erroneous, in the eyes of the Romans, who believed in a plurality of gods. Notwithstanding their entire defeat in the last war, some of the seditious Jews, who had retired to Alexandria, in Egypt, began to manifest their former disposition and to excite fresh insurrections. But their countrymen apprehending the consequences, and being for peace, interfered, and informed the Romans who came upon them, and put 600 of them to death. And a number that had fled were caught and many of them put to death also. They retained their inflexible obstinacy to the last, they would endure the most extreme tortures rather than be subject to the Romans, and even their children would endure the same, rather than acknowledge Cæsar* for their lord. *The Jews who had* survived the sad destruction of their country, city and temple, sought an asylum in various parts of the world. Many retired to Egypt,† others fled to Syrene,‡ a large number to Babylon, and joined their brethren who had remained in that country ever since the captivity. Some took refuge in Persia, and other countries east of Jerusalem. By degrees they formed a regular system of government, connected with the various bodies of their brethren dispersed throughout the world. They were divided into the eastern and western Jews. The eastern were settled in Babylon, Chaldea, Assyria and Persia. The western in Egypt, Syrene, Judea, Italy, and in the Roman Empire. In process of time both these parties chose a head to preside over each of their respective divisions. The heads of the eastern Jews were styled princes of the captivity; and those of the western Jews were called patriarchs. They by degrees, obtained a great authority over the Jews, who were willing to depend upon them in order to maintain some shadow of union. The Jews tena-

* The Roman emperors were called Cæsars.

† From 3 to 400 miles south west from Jerusalem.
Some distance west of Egypt.

ciously adhered to those customs and religious rites, as far as in their power to conform, which was but little ; for they were without a king, without a temple, without sacrifices, and without an altar ; therefore what was still kept up in their synagogues, it was but a shadow of what had been. They had neither offerings, nor sacrifice ; no altar of incense, no table of shew bread, nor no altar of burnt offerings. The tribes, and great families, were in the utmost disorder and confusion. Their genealogies, which they had so carefully kept, were, and have been ever since, irrecoverably lost. The Jews never were reconciled to be under any other power, or foreign yoke, and during the reign of the emperor Trajan, they broke out in open rebellion, and in Syrene, Egypt, Cyprus, and Mesopotamia, they murdered about 500,000 Romans, heathens and christians. The rebellion first was commenced, A. D. 115, in Cyrene, where the Jews had been settled many years, and had become very numerous and powerful. Trajan sent Adrian against them with a powerful army, and after an obstinate conflict and terrible bloodshed, the rebels were reduced in the year A. D. 119, and the Emperor published an edict, banishing them the island of Cyprus, and forbidding their return, under the severest penalties, A. D. 130. Notwithstanding these miseries, the rebellious spirit of the Jews was not yet subdued. Adrian the successor of Trajan, sent a colony to rebuild Jerusalem, near the place where the ancient city stood. He designed to adorn it after the Roman style, and call it Elia Capitolonia, from the name of his family. This with his forbidding the Jews to circumcise their children, exasperated them to commence again an open rebellion. Coziba was their leader. To forward the success of his bold enterprise, he assumed the name of Barchocheba, which signifies the son of a star, and he pretended he was the person prophesied of by Balaam in the words, "*There shall come a star out of Jacob, and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel,*" accordingly he was acknowledged by the insatuated Jews as the

Messiah. He engaged to deliver his nation from the power of the emperor Adrian, and restore it to its former liberty and glory. A famous Rabbi, named Akibba being chosen by him, for his forerunner and messenger, espoused his cause, and not only annointed him as the Messiah and King of the Jews, but placed a diadem on his head ; caused money to be coined in his name ; followed him to the field, at the head of 20,000 of his disciples, and by calling on all the descendants of Abraham to assist the hope of Israel, and an army of 200,000 men were raised who repaired to Bither, a city near Jerusalem, chosen by the impostor for the capital of his kingdom, and murdered all the heathen and christians that came in his way. Adrian, at first neglected to prepare to proceed against them, thinking that the Jews had been sufficiently humbled and reduced by Trajan his predecessor, as not to have courage and ability so soon to raise a large army. But receiving information of the great numbers that Barchocheba had collected, he sent Tinnius Rufus, with a powerful force against him ; notwithstanding the Jews often defeated them and killed vast multitudes. Their rapid success, and cruel devastations filled Rome with fearful consequences, unless they were speedily subdued, therefore, Julius Severus was sent to crush this dangerous revolt. This commander fearful to oppose such a powerful army altogether attacked and defeated them in parties, and at length cut off the supplies of the rebels, and besieged them in Bither. They defended themselves with obstinate resolution, but were not able to withstand the repeated and vigorous attacks which were made against the city. In one of which, after a siege of three years, the pretended Messiah was killed, and the inhabitants surrendered, and soon afterwards fifty of his strong castles were taken, and 985 of their best towns demolished. Akibba, and a son of the impostor were put to a most cruel death. Nearly 600,000 were slain with the sword, besides a great number who perished by famine, fire, and other calamities. It is said that the rivers, and sea

in which they ran for several miles, were coloured with blood. The Jewish historians say, that a greater number were destroyed in this terrible war than the whole amount of their nation when they left Egypt under Moses. Of these unhappy people, who survived this second ruin of their nation, vast numbers were exposed for sale at public fairs, for about the price of horses, and in various ways dispersed over the earth.

In the year of Christ 136, after the war ended, Adrian completed his design of rebuilding Jerusalem, or rather a city on Mount Calvary. In order to prevent new revolts among the Jews, he caused the ancient monuments of their religion to be destroyed, and endeavoured to profane all the places, which they most esteemed, and considered more or less sacred. He erected a theatre, or house of diversion, with the stones that had been in the building of the temple; and he dedicated a temple to Jupiter Capitolonius, where that of the Jews, had formerly stood, and erected a marble statue of a swine over the gate that led to Bethlehem; and as he hated the christians, as well as the Jews, he erected a statue of Venus in the place where Christ was crucified, and one of Jupiter in that where Christ arose from the dead. In the place where he was born, he established the worship of the heathen god Adonis. No Jew was allowed to enter Jerusalem. He even forbade them to look at their once beloved city, from a distance on pain of death; and he established a vigorous guard of Roman soldiers to enforce the execution of his orders. Before this time, they were frequently seen covered with rags, walking around the place where the temple had stood, with sighs and lamentations. But now if they entered Jerusalem, they were obliged to purchase this privilege, by bribing the soldiery; particularly, on the same day of the year that the city was taken, that they might enter, to weep over it. Thus they were obliged to pay for the liberty of shedding tears, in these places, where their ancestors had shed the blood of Jesus. (Notwithstanding their heinous sin, I do think the Jews

are to be pitied, and the more so if it be true what the apostle says, "*Had they known it, they would not have done it.*"* Corresponding with what the merciful Jesus said, "*Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.*"†

The edict of Adrian, which still prevented the Jews from circumcising their children, being still in force, their impatience under this restraint, stimulated them, notwithstanding their misfortune in the last war, again to rebel and take up arms. The then existing emperor, Antonius, soon suppressed the revolt, and afterwards granted them the privileges for which they contended. Heliogabalus, who in A. D. 218, ascended the throne, had been circumcised, and abstained from swine's flesh, he, however, built a superb temple in honour of the sun, the idol he worshipped. He ordered several superstitious things held in veneration by the Romans, to be brought to the temple. Being acquainted with the religion of the Jews, he intended to unite their religious rights, with the adoration of his deity. His sudden death blasted his great, but vain project. Alexander Severus, who succeeded Heliogabalus, greatly favoured the Jews, corresponded with them, and received a knowledge of their religion. He had a chapel wherein he placed the statues of Abraham, of Orpheus, and of Christ; and was desirous of erecting a temple to Christ and receiving him into the number of his gods. His object was to unite the Pagan, Jewish, and christian religions together. But death cut him short in the execution of his vain project also. During the reign of Decius, Valerian, and Dioclesian, Roman emperors, though they persecuted the christians, it does not appear that they molested, or persecuted the Jews. And it appears that when they were not rebellious, they were treated with kindness and indulgence by most of the Roman emperors, and enjoyed intervals of peace, and of course some degree of prosperity. The Jews were much like some person in a fever, who grew calm after a few deliriums,

* Cor. ii. 8.

† Luke xxiii. 34

The numerous remains of this people, though they were excluded from Jerusalem, were permitted to form and maintain considerable establishments, both in Italy and the provinces.

The moderation of the Romans, gave the Jews liberty to practise their religion ; new synagogues were erected in the principal cities of the empire ; and the institutions and rites of the Mosaic law, were celebrated in the most public manner. But when the christian princes were at the head of the Roman empire, they did not show so much favour to the Jews, whom they considered as the enemies of Jesus Christ, though they professed the christian religion, they had not the spirit of it enough to put in practice that excellent precept of Christ which directed them to *love their enemies*,* and to *do good to those who hated them*. He never directed, or taught any to hate those who hated even him, much less to persecute, or injure any ; but in every respect directly the reverse.



CHAPTER XI.

State of the Jews under, what's called christian Rome, in the fourth and fifth centuries.

In the fourth century an important revolution took place. Constantine, called, the Great, a Roman Emperor embraced the christian religion, when christianity, (or rather anti-christian,) become established, and the splendid temples of Roman superstition were subverted. During the reign of this monarch, the city of Jerusalem, which Adrian called Elia, resumed its former name. It had grown into such disuse, and was so little remembered, or known especially among the heathens, that when one of the martyrs, who suffered under Maximin was examined of what country he was, and an-

* Matt. v. 44.

swered of Jerusalem, neither the governor of the province, nor any of his assistants could comprehend what city it was, or where situated. Constantine enlarged and beautified it with many stately buildings, and churches. The change in the religion of the Roman empire, did not prove, as before hinted, of any advantage to the Jews. Constantine passed some severe laws against them. He charged bodies of them with stoning and burning those who renounced the Jewish religion, and condemned them, and all their accomplices to suffer the same punishment. He also forbade them to make proselytes to their religion, under the severest penalties, and gave liberty to all slaves who accused their masters of having circumcised them, and all Jewish slaves who would profess the christian religion.

During the reign of Constantine, the Jews had become numerous in Persia, and having been treated with kindness and liberality by several of the Persian monarchs, had acquired great power and influence at that court: they raised a dreadful persecution against the eastern christians. They instigated the Persians against them also, and the christians were slaughtered, their church demolished, and almost all the christians destroyed. (What is man but a wolf to man, to tare, devour and destroy each other, possessing apparently, not the least spark of goodness,) these destructive and bloody proceedings were intended, as they said, to revenge the insults and indignities which the Jewish people were made to suffer in the Roman empire.

But their cruelty to the christians did not go long unpunished. Constantius, who succeeded his father in the empire, and who hated the Jews and their religion, and observing their insolence, and the indignant manner in which they treated the christians, he in return, treated them in much the same manner. If the reader will excuse another of my little digressions, I will here just observe, that it very seldom fails, but that those who punish and injure others, punish and injure themselves as much, or cause themselves to be punished, in the long run. Se

true it is, that, "*the wicked shall not go unpunished,*"* and "*he that is cruel, troubleth his own flesh,*"† or himself. But that which incensed Constantius most against the Jews, was the treacherous conduct of the Jewish inhabitants of Diocessarea, in Palestine. They taking the advantage of the emperor's absence, while he marched an army into Hungary, raised an insurrection in Judea, that they might co-operate with the Persians, who at the same time, had invaded the Roman empire, and laid siege to Nisibis, (some distance eastward of Jerusalem,) Constantius sent Gallus against them, who marching his army through Judea, defeated the rebellious Jews, and destroyed Diocessarea. The emperor being a christian, (or professing to be one, for I do not believe there was a spark of real christianity about him,) and also inflamed with resentment against the Jews for their treachery, not only revived the laws which had been passed against them by his father, but enacted others still more severe.

Every Jew that married a christian, or circumcised a slave, or retained others who professed to be christians, was punished with death. Not only were they hindered from entering Jerusalem, but they were not allowed to look at it from a distance without paying, even for that trifling privilege, a certain sum of money.

The death of Constantius delivered the Jews from those restrictions, and the next emperor favoured them, who was Julian, called the apostate, the nephew of Constantine, and successor of Constantius. It appears to have been his determined purpose to subvert the christians, and restore the pagan worship. His aversion to the christians, induced him to treat the Jews with much kindness. He allowed them the free exercise of their religion, and exempted them from the heavy taxes which was imposed upon them by his predecessor. What changes, and how fluctuating is every thing in this world. It was but a little while ago that the christians were exalted,

* Prov. xi. 21.

† Ibid. 17.

when they became proud and cruel, and depressed and humbled the Jews. Now it is directly the reverse, the christians are depressed and humbled, and the Jews exalted, who now in their turn become proud, haughty and insolent towards the christians ; they demolished many churches in Judea, Syria and Egypt, and persecuted the christians. It is a truth to be lamented, that like the Jews and christians then, every sect, from that time to this have done the same, each one have persecuted according to the power they have possessed ; yea worse, christians have persecuted christians, but we will drop the sad story and proceed.

Julian established the pagan religion, disqualified the christians from bearing offices in the state, fined, and banished their clergy, imposed a tax on all who refused to sacrifice to idols, and used every method that he could invent to destroy the then professed christian religion. He formed a great design of rebuilding the temple of Jerusalem and restoring the Jews. Christ had said that "*Jerusalem should be trodden down of the Gentiles,*" but he would defeat the prophecy, and prove that there was no truth in prophecy and revelation, or at least it would be as he thought a specious argument against both. For this purpose he wrote a public epistle to the Jews, dispersed throughout the provinces. In this letter he expresses his sorrow for their former ill treatment, and assuring them of his protection from future oppression ; and concluding with a promise, that if he was successful in the Persian war, he would rebuild the holy city Jerusalem, restore them to their former places of abode, and join with them in worshipping the God of the universe. This was a great undertaking indeed, and though we wish the Jews well, and their restoration, yet we can not hope he may succeed, for that would be joining with him, in defeating the truth of the prophecy, or making of it false ; for the time had not yet come, but let us see how he come on. He was in such a hurry to accomplish this great design, he had not patience to wait till after his Persian

expedition : But he went right away to work about it, and in order thereto, he assigned immense sums out of the public treasury. And connected the superintendence of the plan to Alypus his intimate friend, who was also equally averse to christianity. This person provided an immense quantity of materials, and a great number of workmen. At his call, the Jews from all the provinces of the empire, assembled with joy and rejoicing. The desire of rebuilding the temple has in every age, been the ruling passion of the Jews. At this time the men forgot their avarice, and even the women their delicacy, so as to be willing to join in the work. It is said that the vanity of some of the rich was such, that spades and pick axes were made of silver, and the rubbish was conveyed away in silk and purple ; this might have been the case in a few instances, merely as an honour to the undertaking. Every purse was open in liberal contributions ; every hand claimed a share in the pious labour, and the commands of a great monarch were executed by the enthusiasm of the whole people.

But alas ! how greatly must they have been then disappointed, how greatly mortified, and withal, how greatly astonished, when they had not worked long, before horrible balls of fire burst out of the ground, where they were digging to lay the foundations, attended with a roaring of the earth, like an earthquake, as if the God of nature was angry at their proceedings. They tried again and again, but were at every attempt repulsed : many were badly scorched and burnt ; and finally, they had to abandon the undertaking. Thus if one Roman emperor vainly attempted to prevent the destruction of the temple, still more vainly did another Roman emperor, attempt to rebuild it. This, if true, is a most marvellous and astonishing event ; and nothing can be a stronger and more convincing proof of the truth of prophecy. It appears to be well authenticated, but no doubt but that it will be satisfactory to the reader to see the testimony concern-

ing it himself, when he can judge for himself. It was proper that the event should be attested by the heathens themselves. Ammianus Marcellinus, a Gentile by religion, and a zealous defender of Julian, speaks of it thus: "Whilst they urged with vigour and diligence the execution of the work, horrible balls of fire breaking out near the foundation, with frequent and reiterated attacks, rendered the place, from time to time, inaccessible to the scorched and blasted workmen; and the victorious element continued in this manner obstinately and resolutely bent, as it were, to drive them to a distance; the undertaking was abandoned." Zemus David, a Jew, who confesseth that "Julian was hindered by God in the attempt:" Nazianzen and Chrysostom among the Greeks: St. Ambrose, and Ruffinus among the Latins, who lived at the very time when the wonder was done. Theodoret and Sozomen, always believed to have been honest historians.

Philostorgius, an Arrien, and Socrates, who wrote the account within fifty years after it was done, and while the eye witnesses of the fact were yet living. The words of Sozomen are worthy of notice. "If it yet seem incredible," says he, "to any one, he may repair both to the witnesses of it yet living, and to them who have heard it from their mouths: yea, they may view the foundations, lying yet bare and naked."—Gibbon, a celebrated deistical writer, who believed not in supernatural events, speaking of this event, he says, that "an earthquake, a whirlwind and a fire eruption, which overturned and scattered the new foundation of the temple, are attested by cotemporary writers and respectable evidences; such as Ambrose, bishop of Milan, Chrysostom, and Gregory Nazianzen, the latter of whom published his account before the expiration of the same year.* There is certainly something very extraordinary about it. It cannot be objected as it hath been to some miracles, that they were done pri-

* Gibbons' *Decline and Fall*, Vol. iv. p. 107.

vately or but few present. This was openly, and very probably seen by hundreds; and what is the most convincing of the fact, that there must have been something that hindered Julian from proceeding; and no other reason has ever been assigned why he should abandon his magnificent but impious design. Whoever wishes further information on the subject, may see "Dr. Warburton's Julian," where the evidences for the miracle is set in the strongest light, and "all objections," says bishop Newton, "are clearly refuted, to the triumph of faith, and the confusion of infidelity."

Julian was the last of the Roman emperors: and under his successor, Jovian, and under the reigns of Valentinian, Gratian, Theodosius, and Arcadius, the Jews were but little molested. The peace which they had under Theodosius, was, however, disturbed by some anti-christians, who caused one of their synagogues to be burnt; but, upon complaint being made to the emperor, he ordered them to rebuild it.

During the reign of Theodosius, the 2d, the liberal treatment which the Jews now had long experienced, having had full liberty of conscience allowed them; emboldened them to offer an insult to the established church. Being assembled to celebrate a feast called Purim, (among the Jews in memory of their deliverance from Haman's conspiracy,) instead of hanging a figure of Haman on a high gibbet, as had been their common practice, in ridicule of those called christians, they fixed it on a cross; and with their usual execrations, burnt the cross and the figure together; which caused the emperor to forbid them for the time to come of erecting and burning such gibbets, under the penalty of being deprived of all their privileges. The Jews generally obeyed; but those of Macedon and Dacia, renewed insults of this kind, which the anti-christian magistrates retaliated, by burning their houses and

synagogues,* and by putting their leaders to death. The emperor issued several edicts, expressly forbidding the anti-christians to persecute the Jews on account of their religion, and forbidding the Jews from offering any insults to the established church.

But the anti-christians still continued to plunder and burn their synagogues, and appropriate the goods to the use of the church, particularly in Antioch, where the Jews were numerous and many of them affluent. Upon complaints being made to Theodosius, of their wicked conduct, he, like a good and equitable judge, obliged them to restore what they had taken, and erect new synagogues.

The Jews were numerous in the island of Candia, and had acquired considerable wealth. About A. D. 432, an impostor arose, who declared himself to be a second Moses, sent to deliver his people. He promised to divide the sea, and afford them a safe passage through it to their own land. During one year, he passed through every town and village on the Island, and persuaded his countrymen to meet him on the day, and at the place appointed. They collected according

* Christ says, "resist not evil," and he taught to return good for evil. Therefore, those professed Christians, magistrates, and many other professed christians of that day, and even back to Constantine, who acted not only in retaliating, but in every other respect contrary to the precepts and doctrine of Christ, could not have been christians, as historians please to call them, but anti-christians, (contrary, opposite to Christ.) Robinson, in his ecclesiastical researches, says, "the most respectable writers of that age, in the third century, have put it out of the power of an historian to spread a veil over the enormities of ecclesiastical rulers. By a train of vices they were sunk into luxury and voluptuousness, puffed up with vanity, arrogance and ambition, possessed with a spirit of contention and discord, and addicted to many other vices—the effects of corrupt ambition were spread through every rank of the sacred order." And again, speaking of the Bishops of Rome, "Of the sinners, it may truly be affirmed, that they were sinners of size; for it would be difficult to mention a crime which they did not commit." And Mosheim in his ecclesiastical history, says, "They indulged themselves, in the commission of the most odious crimes, and abandoned themselves to the lawless impulses of the most licentious passions without reluctance or remorse: and whose spiritual empire was a diversified scene of iniquity and violence," &c. &c., and yet call them Christians!! Nay it was the anti-christ—the man of sin, the apostle speaks of, which would arise. 2 Thess. ii. 3.

to his orders, and many with their wives and children : he then led them to the top of a precipice, and it is recorded by several writers, that he commanded them to cast themselves into the sea : and it is said, that the men, with unshaken faith, instantly obeyed ; and that the women and children followed with equal ardour. Many were drowned : others were saved by some christian fishermen. If this story be true, I can account for it in no other way, than that a judgment of infatuation, and in some instances, madness, had fell upon the Jews, as has been shewn in several instances of their conduct heretofore, but particularly in following false prophets, as a punishment, for their refusing and persecuting the true. Moses told them that they should be *mad*, and they have often acted so in many instances before this.*

Those Jews who were saved, as above mentioned, became sensible of their infatuation, and endeavoured to seize the impostor ; but they could find nothing of him. which caused them to think that he was the devil. Ashamed of their being thus imposed on, many were induced to make profession of the christian religion.

In the year A. D. 415, the Jews of Alexandria were computed to contain about 100,000 ; at this time they were greatly relaxed in the strictness of the performance of their religious rites, and many of them instead of attending the synagogues on their sabbath, would be present at public diversion exhibited on that day, when frequent disputes would take place between them and the anti-christians, which seldom ended without bloodshed. Cyrill, an anti-christian bishop of that city, was greatly embittered against the Jews, threatened them with ecclesiastical execution, that is church punishment, torture, and death. (But Christ never instituted such a church.) The Jews, however, knowing that Orestes, the governor of Alexandria, was their friend, they little regarded the threats of the bishop, and resolved to attack the

* Deut. xxviii. 34.

professed christians in the middle of the night through the streets. For this wicked purpose they sent several persons through the streets of the city, and to cry fire; and the Jews distinguishing themselves by some particular mark, when the anti-christians came out unarmed, not suspecting any thing but fire, the Jews immediately fell upon them, and massacred great numbers. Cyrill, the bishop, as soon as he received information of this wicked act, did one as wicked himself. Not applying to the governor, or waiting for legal sentence, he immediately rallied his people, and put himself at their head, he entered their synagogues, took all that was of value out, and appropriated it to his own use, and levelled some of them to the ground and damaged others. His party then entered the houses of the Jews, and plundered them of all their goods, and compelled the Jews to abandon the city almost naked, and Alexandria was impoverished, by the loss of an industrious and wealthy colony. This conduct of the bishop highly offended Orestes the governor, who would not brook such an infringement of his authority, and was grieved that so great a number of the inhabitants had been expelled the city. The people in the city, and round about it exclaimed against these proceedings of the bishop, and advised him to submit, and humble himself to the governor; but this he absolutely refused; and taking the gospel in his hand, (which condemned all his conduct) he endeavoured by the authority of that, and by threats, to effect a reconciliation, (a poor way to go to work) but finding Orestes obstinate and inflexible, Cyrill commanded a regiment of Monks, to the amount of 1500, that lived not far off in the mountains, to descend and assault the governor, which some of them did while he was riding in his chariot, they wounded him in his head, and covered him with blood, and he would have been killed had not the people ran to his assistance, and rescued him out of the hands of the Monks. This tumult being appeased, Orestes caused one of the principal

offenders to be put to death. The governor sent an account of the whole transaction to the emperor. Cyrill also wrote, and not only justified the proceedings of the Monks, but in his next sermon, declared Ammonius, the Monk, that the governor ordered to be put to death, to be a martyr in the cause of christianity. The conduct of the bishop produced new commotion, in which many persons lost their lives : and in the number of whom was the celebrated Hypatia, an amiable young heathen lady, said to be of excellent understanding, learning, and virtue, who was barbarously murdered before one of the anti-christian churches. The ill-timed zeal and cruelty of Cyrill, are visible in all those proceedings, and his conduct has been justly blamed by all impartial persons. This person is one of those who is handed down to us, as a saint and Father of the church. A certain writer speaks with too much truth, when he says, " that almost all persons in those days denominated *saints*, were the most infamous villains and murderers that ever lived." The Jews in the west, under Honorius, enjoyed the full liberty respecting their religion. He enacted a law, imputing that the real glory of a prince consisted in allowing all his subjects though of different religious sentiments, the full and peaceable enjoyment of all their rights and privileges. Agreeable to this decree, he expressly forbid the anti-christians from destroying their synagogues, or injuring the Jews in any respect ; and that the Jews should not injure those called christians neither. This emperor was much wiser and better than many rulers of a much later date, and if all others, had done like him. there would have been far less persecution in the world,

The Jews sustained a severe affliction, in the fifth century, by an end being put to the office of patriarch, which had been the means of keeping up a union among them. These patriarchs, or chiefs were supported by taxes paid by the Jews, which at length became so extravagant, that the Jews applied to the civil power for relief. Instead of obtaining relief as they wished, they had the

mortification of having it to pay to the emperor's use ; and as then there was no income to support the patriarchal office, it ceased to exist. The fifth century was remarkable, for the irruption of the barbarous nations upon the western empire, yet the Jews were only partial sufferers with others. After the Goths obtained possession of Italy, the Jews were protected by those barbarous kings. The most persecution they met with, was from the anti-christians, which would have been much more if they had not been restrained by the civil power, which certainly is not at all to their credit as christians. Theodorick, in particular, protected the Jews against the anti-christian zealots, and would permit no compulsory means to be used for their conversion. He reproved the senate for suffering a synagogue to be burned at Rome, and severely reprimanded the anti-christian clergy at Milan, for seizing another. When the Jews were injured by the pretended christians, they applied to Theodorick. In about the year 428, happened the celebrated, though disputed, conversion of the Jews on an island, called Minorea. On that island were two pretty large towns. In one the anti-christian bishop had his residence, in which the Jews were forbidden to enter ; and it was said, and foolishly believed, that the Jews who ventured to enter it, were generally punished with a sudden and miraculous death, but it is more likely the anti-christians privately killed them. The other town was chiefly inhabited by Jews ; many of whom were rich. Theodosius was president of their synagogue, and was the principal person on the island. Severus was bishop of the island, he was persuaded by one Orosius, who had returned from Jerusalem, laden with miraculous relics,* to attempt the conversion of the Jews. They began with private discourses, and then proceeded with public conferences and disputes, which were held in the synagogue, which terminated in a tumult, and the synagogue was destroyed, and nothing

* That is small pieces of the remains, as bones, or the hair and clothes of reputed saints preserved by Roman Catholics, with great veneration.

preserved but the books and plate. The bishop however exhibited such a number of miracles, (pretended ones no doubt) that the greatest men among the Jews, began to believe, and in eight days most of the Jews in their town were converted, when the synagogue was rebuilt, and became a church. This is the story, but by what follows, plainly demonstrates that compulsory means had been used, probable death if they did not profess to be christians, for some who continued obstinate and untractable, concealed themselves in caverns and hiding places, and others leaving all their property, fled, and sought an asylum in foreign countries. It will be found in the course of this history that there has been many of such compulsory conversions of the Jews. For the anti-christians always had scripture, for to persecute those who would not come into their church without. "*Compel them to come in.*"* Little thinking, that they were to be compelled by love and the force of truth, such compulsions and such only, in matters of religion, was used by Christ and his apostles. After the Jews had lost their existence and power as a nation, they were desirous to preserve the purity of their sacred books; for this purpose a number of learned Rabbins compiled a work, they called the Masora,† in which they first fixed the true reading of the Hebrew text, by vowels and accents; and secondly, numbered not only the chapters, and sections, but even the verses, words, and letters of the Old Testament. This work is a stupendous monument of minute and persevering labour.

* Luke xiv. 23.

† The bible was originally written without any breaks, or division into chapters and verses, or even into words, so that a whole book in the ancient manner, was but one continued word, and without stops or points. It is a mystery to us how they could read it so. The Masorites divided it into chapters, sections, verses, and words, and placed the points, and, as above mentioned, they enumerated the chapters and verses, and even words and letters, as a means of preserving it from being corrupted or altered, therefore the Jews call the Masora the hedge or fence of the laws.

CHAPTER XII.

The state of the Jews in the sixth and seventh centuries, in the East, Spain, and France.

THE sixth century, commenced with a violent persecution against the Jews in Persia, which historians tell us continued for seventy-three years ; during which time the synagogues were shut, the observance of the sabbath was suppressed, and their schools and chapels were appropriated to the use of the Persian philosophers, called the Magi.

Huna, the chief of the Jews, and two of his disciples, were imprisoned and suffered death with wonderful fortitude. But the Jewish youth more fond of the pleasures of life, were easily persuaded to forsake their religion, and a general defection in Israel followed.

This persecution commenced under Cavades, a prince of a proud and imperious disposition, who intended to compel all his subjects ; those called christians, and the Jews, and others, to embrace the Persian religion. This persecution was very severe.

The celebrated Meir, a learned Rabbi, declared war against the Persian king ; and we are told that with 400 men only, he successfully contended against him for seven years ; but he was at last defeated and put to death. The Persians then entered the city in which Zeutra, the chief, resided, and having plundered the city, hanged that Jewish prince, and the president of the Jewish council on a bridge. The family of Zeutra betook themselves to flight, and his son and heir retired into Judea, where he became chief of the Sanhedrim.

Chosroes, who succeeded Cavades, treated the Jews with still greater severity than his predecessor.

In 639, when Hormisdas ascended the Persian throne, he restored their former privileges, which they continued to enjoy during the whole of his reign.

Chosroes was the son of Hormisdas, and he murdered his father to obtain the throne: next his son Varanes rebelled against him, and he interceded with the Jews to assist him; they did so; but soon paid dear for their interference, for Varanes was soon reduced to subjection, when the Jews were considered as a faithless people, that excited subjects against their prince, and even a son against a father.

The Jews of Antioch were the first who suffered for assisting Varanes. Many of them perished by the sword; others were put to death by the most cruel tortments; and those who survived were subjected to the basest slavery.

Some time after, they endeavoured to obtain the favour of this prince. He had been to war with Justinian, the Roman emperor, and when they two were about entering into negotiations of peace, the Jews promised him if he would continue the war, they would assist him in making himself master of Jerusalem, which they represented to him as being one of the richest cities in the world. Chosroes, therefore, entering into their treacherous design, broke off negotiations for peace with the emperor, and prepared to carry the project into execution; and the war was carried on with great vigour, and many successful inroads were made into Syria and Palestine. When after the reduction of Gallilea, the Persian Monarch made himself master of Jerusalem, (A. D. 613,) when he delivered all the prisoners who professed to be christians, into the hands or power of the Jews, when, horrid to relate, they satiated their implacable hatred against them by cruelly murdering no less than ninety thousand.*

* Their conduct is altogether astonishing. It does appear, that mankind, particularly in that day had no pity nor compassion. Among those ninety thousand, called Christians, were many Romans: the Romans had cruelly put many Jews to death, and now the Jews in return, cruelly destroyed almost as many Romans. I don't know why it all is so, or why permitted. I only know this; that sin and wickedness is the sole cause of all the destruction and misery in the world.

The history of mankind may be said to be an history of devils; for supposing there was a world—suppose one of the planets inhabited by

They pillaged and destroyed their churches, and plundered the people of their property.

The Jews conspired with their brethren in Palestine, to make an attempt to conquer Tyre, and destroy its inhabitants; but the Tyrians repulsed them with bravery. After this disappointment they dispersed themselves through the country, and burned many of those called christian churches. They were at length vanquished by the Tyrians, who sallied out of the city and cut them to pieces.

Whilst the eastern Jews, in the 6th century, sustained a series of persecution in Persia, their brethren in the west were cruelly oppressed. The emperor Justinian issued an edict which hindered their celebrating the passover, according to their own calculation, and obliged them to observe it at the same time as the christian church. Soon after, he forbade the magistrates to admit them to give evidence against the christians, and deprived them of the privilege of making wills, or bequeathing legacies. He also forbid them educating their children in their own faith, and commanded the prefect, or magistrates to convert their synagogues into churches. The general discontent and indignation, in consequence of these severe laws, increased to open rebellion. And A. D. 530, one Julian who pretended to be the Messiah, met with such success as to make many of the Jews believe he was so, and therefore many resorted to his standard. He armed his followers, and led them against the christians, and they being wholly unprepared, to "*resist evil*," or for defence, were slaughtered in great numbers. At length Justinian sent troops against the insurgents; and, then they fought with such despera-

a race of devils, or of beings totally depraved, or as bad as it is possible for creatures to be, and if we had the history of them. I cannot conceive how it could be much worse, than the history of mankind in this world. Only there have been a few righteous in every age, and these have been and are the "*salt of the earth*," who preserve it from utter destruction. For as says the pious William Law, if every good principle, particularly that of love, was totally extinguished, mankind would so rage and destroy each other, that they would cease to exist.

tion that they were soon entirely routed. The false messiah was taken, and immediately put to death, and the revolt ceased.

A. D. 555. The Jews in Cesarea rebelled against the Roman government ; and, notwithstanding the hatred which subsisted between them, and the Samaritans, they united their forces against the professed christians. The insurgents attacked, and demolished many of the churches, and massacred many of the people. Justinian subdued them, confiscated the property of the rich, and beheaded many and banished the others.

The Jews joined the Goths in Italy, against Justinian and his general Belisarius, while this officer was engaged in the siege of Naples, the Jews defended the city with the most obstinate resolution. When the citizens were about to capitulate, the Jews encouraged them to hold out to the last extremity, in consequence thereof the siege was continued, and many of the Roman soldiers slain. When the city was taken, the Jews were cruelly put to death. Intimidated and humbled by this dreadful severity, they remained peaceable during the two following reigns.

A. D. 602. Under the reign of Phocas, the Jews of Antioch raised an insurrection against the anti-christians, who defended themselves with great resolution, but, not being powerful enough to resist their enemies, they become the victims of their cruelty. Many were burnt in their houses, and several put to death other ways. The rebellion, however, after an arduous conflict, was suppressed, and the barbarous conduct of the rebels severely punished.

A. D. 606. The Jews by this time, had become numerous in Cyprus. About four years after the insurrection at Antioch, bishop Leontius, fearing that the Island would suffer similar calamities, resolved to use every possible method to effect their conversion. His endeavours are said to have been so successful that they renounced Judaism, and were baptized. It is also said, that many of their brethren, in other parts, were about

this time induced to profess the christian religion ; but there is reason to believe that these conversions, were nothing more than an outward profession, and more owing to the liberality of anti-christian princes, than to the love of truth.

In the early part of the seventh century appeared Mahomet, the famous Arabian impostor on the stage of action. He established a new religion, which made a rapid progress in the world. Many of the Jews after the destruction of their country, had fled to Arabia.— Their number, and respectability induced Mahomet at first to treat them with attention and kindness. He adopted many of their opinions and customs, in order to engage them to his interest. The Jews, deceived by the splendour of his victories, began to regard him as the expected Messiah. And some persons of distinction among them and many others, embraced his religion. They were soon offended at his eating camel's flesh, which is forbidden by the law of Moses : but the hope of deriving advantages from the impostor, induced them to aid him in his design. But they afterwards became his inveterate enemies ; and when, like all others who never received the spirit of Christ, he became their enemy. His aversion to them continued to the last moment of his life. In his Alcoran, he reproaches them with betraying and murdering the prophets ; and calls them “ a people justly cursed of God, for their treatment of Jesus Christ, whom he acknowledges to be a great prophet, and for filling up the measure of their conduct by rejecting of him.”— And at length he openly declares hostilities against them. He first summoned the Jews at Medina, to embrace his religion, or contend with him in battle. The Jews replied, we do not wish to go to war with you, we are ignorant of the use of arms, we persevere in the faith and worship of our fathers, why wilt thou reduce us to the necessity of a just defence.” But war, as they thought, could not be avoided ; Cajab, one of the principal persons of the Jewish nation, a man who

had always opposed the measures of Mahomet, for which reason he had given orders for his followers to waylay and kill him. Cajab being informed of the designs formed against him, appeared at the head of the Jews. In the third year of the Hegira,* Mahomet began his operations, with besieging the Jews in Hegiasa, and having obliged them to surrender at discretion, he drove them into banishment, and distributed their wealth and effects among his disciples and followers. After this, Cajab, (or as some call him Cahah,) attacked him near Kaibar, a place about four days journey from Medina, where the Jews were totally routed, and great numbers of them destroyed ; and their general with much difficulty saved his life by flight. The unfortunate issue of this attempt did not, however, deter the Jewish leader from trying the event of another engagement ; the Jews were again defeated with great slaughter, and their leader taken and put to death. And the Jews were forced to submit to the power of Mahomet, and to become tributary ; this was grievous and oppressive to the Jews ; and a Jewish woman endeavoured to destroy Mahomet by poison, but was detected, and put to death.

Omar, the successor of Mahomet, was one of the most rapid conquerors that ever spread desolation over the face of the earth.† During the two years of his

* An account of time used by the Arabians, who begin their time from the day that Mahomet was forced to escape from Mecca, which was our July 16, 622.

† All such men who have been the greatest conquerors, and who have inflicted the most misery on mankind, have been the most famed and called great. But I scarcely know of a greater absurdity than that of calling a warrior, a hero, or a good and a great man. It is glorious to murder a million of human lives and rob nations ; and we read of some dying in the field of battle covered with glory : but it is infamous to murder and rob individuals. What absurdity and inconsistency !

Nothing can with the least propriety, be called glorious, or really deserving the epithet of magnanimity or heroism, but that which is good, and disinterested. Christ came to save men's lives, not to destroy them ; therefore He, and all others, who, according to their ability, do the same, are only worthy to be called good and great. Warriors are mad men rather than heroes, wicked men rather than good and honourable. A sensible writer says, " It is, indeed, a shame to the human race, that, since the flood, those men have been most fa-

reign, he subdued Arabia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia, and Egypt. With the Saracens under his command, he invested Jerusalem, and after an obstinate siege, which lasted four months, the christians, having obtained an honourable capitulation, surrendered the city to him. The conqueror would not allow them, as was the wish of the Jews, to be deprived of their churches.

But by his command, the ground where Solomon's temple stood, was prepared for the foundation of a mosque, which was the first Mahometan place of worship erected in Jerusalem.

In this period, the Jews often changed masters, by the swift succession of monarchs, who were at one time Mahometan, then Pagan, and next Christian. In all the evils of those changes, the Jews suffered more or less. The first Caliph, (or Mahometan ruler,) restored them to the free exercise of their religion.

A number of the Roman Pontiffs have been as indulgent to the Jewish nation as the first caliphs. In Italy, where the Jews were numerous in the seventh century, they were treated with moderation and kindness by pope Gregory the Great. Their general conversion was the object of his ardent desires and earnest endeavours. He exhorted his clergy and flock to use them with candour and tenderness, asserting that one day they were to be recalled, and to become a large part of Christ's fold; and that kind and friendly treatment was the proper method to conduct them to the unity of the faith. "Violence," said he, "will disgust those who might be allured by gentleness and charity." This was good in pope Gregory; tender-

mous and celebrated and honoured, who have been the cause of the most misery in the world. All history, says he, "agrees in giving Alexander the Great, the first place in the list of fame, and it seems for no other reason but because he was the greatest destroyer of mankind. It is little to be doubted, that the source of his fame in this world, and that of many other warriors, will be the cause of the deepest regret in the world to come, and that which has covered their names with such glory among men, will cover them with shame and everlasting contempt before God."—Whelpley's Antient History.

ness and kindness is good, let it come from where it may, and it is a pity that all others had not patterned after him. He strongly expressed his abhorrence of the persecution they suffered in different countries, and condemned the zeal of some of the bishops against them. He even reprimanded a Jew, who, in order to ingratiate himself with the christians, set up a cross and image of the Virgin Mary in a synagogue. Gregory ordered the cross and image to be removed, alleging that, since the laws did not permit the Jews to build new synagogues, they ought to be allowed the free enjoyment of those they already possessed.

The cruel treatment which the Jews soon after experienced from Heraclius, the Greek Emperor, formed a complete contrast, to the kindness of the Roman Pontiff. This monarch hated the Hebrew race, on account of their religion; and their great wealth* excited his avarice.

Heraclius was still more exasperated against the Jews, by his consulting his soothsayers and diviners, relative to the fate of the empire. He received for answer, that a circumcised nation would prove its ruin, considering how powerful and numerous the Hebrews were in most parts of his dominions, and that they still cherished the hope of being restored to their native country, he doubted not but they were the people intended and described by the prediction. The great and frequent efforts they had made to recover their liberty, and their cruel and sanguinary proceedings against the christians, confirmed him in this belief; and induced him to persecute them with the most unjust, and utmost severity. He banished them from Jerusalem, and forbid them to approach within three miles of the city.

The Jews had become numerous in Spain, and acquired wealth by their dexterity in trade. Their afflu-

* It is rather singular, that the Jews in all their dispersions and depressions, should, notwithstanding, many of them be wealthy, and but few abjectly poor. Therefore a common saying, "as rich as a Jew."

ence excited the avarice of their masters. The emperor, Heraclius, who had been engaged in a war with Sisebut, the Spanish monarch, was so unjust and cruel as to make it one of the principal articles of the peace, that the king, Sisebut, should compel them to receive baptism, or abandon the kingdom. The religious bigotry of Sisebut induced him readily to agree to this cruel article ; and he imprisoned the most distinguished persons among this unhappy people.

After having remained sometime in confinement, large numbers of Jews, in order to preserve their wealth and lives, consented to be baptized. The estates of the more obstinate were unjustly confiscated, and their bodies tortured.

The conduct of the king was highly and justly censured by Isidore, bishop of Seville, and condemned by the other catholic clergy in Spain. In the fourth council of Toledo, in which the bishop Isidore presided, it was (to the credit of this council,) declared unchristian and unlawful to use compulsory measures in religion. This council, however, ordained, that those whom persecution had drove to receive baptism, should be compelled, for the honour of the church, to continue in conforming to the external rights of the christian religion. This decree was enacted, because the pretended converts returned to Judaism, as soon as the fear of any punishment, or injury was withdrawn.

Chintila, who succeeded Sisebut, treated the Jews with the greatest rigour. This monarch, in 638, commanded, (like a bigoted fool,) all his subjects to profess the christian faith : the Jews continued in Spain, under the weight of the civil and ecclesiastical laws.

In order to engage the Spanish clergy to aid his views, Chintila convened the fifth and sixth council of Toledo. These assemblies, departing from the good principles of the former, respecting using compulsory measures in religion, passed several decrees conformable to the wishes of the monarch. The divines who composed them, highly commended his blind zeal

against the Jews, and blessed God for having given them such a wise and pious prince ; not being able to judge wisdom from folly, nor piety from wickedness. They ratified the edict he had passed, for the banishment of this miserable people ; and declared that no prince, for the future, should ascend the Spanish throne, till he had taken an oath to observe all the laws against them.

This wicked oath was punctually enforced by the succeeding monarchs. The Visigoth kings enacted laws which completely authorized persecution, and blindly alleged in their vindication, that, since the violent take the kingdom of heaven by force, men ought to be stimulated, or forced to receive this blessing, thus "*wresting scripture to their own destruction*,"* truly. By these laws, it was ordained, that every Jew who refused to receive baptism, should suffer a severe corporeal punishment, and be banished from the kingdom, and have all his goods confiscated.

Thus multitudes of this persecuted people, intimidated by the gloomy prospect before them, were constrained to conform externally to the national anti-christian faith. But as their conformity was only forced by terror, many soon apostatized. To remedy this evil, a new council was convened. The Jews resolved to shelter themselves from the impending calamity. The most distinguished of their nation wrote to the king in the name of their brethren in Spain, declaring that though they had till then dissembled, they were now resolved to become sincere converts. They assured his majesty, that they would no longer observe their Sabbaths, circumcise their children, or form any connection by marriage with those who were unbaptized ; and promised to persecute any of their brethren who should presume to violate any of these engagements.

The strong promises contained in this letter, render-

* 2 Peter, iii. 16.

ed their sincerity more suspected ; and, in consequence thereof, their conduct was more strictly observed. It was accordingly discovered that they still performed the Jewish rites, and even ventured to dispute the christian religion, (anti-christian.) The king finding the difficulty of effecting his purpose by severity, ordered Julian, archbishop of Toledo, to write against them. Accordingly, this prelate, in A. D. 686, published a learned treatise, in which he proved, from the scriptures, that Jesus of Nazareth is the Messiah.

The king and bishop at length discovered, what common sense might have taught them, that their system of persecution failed of producing what they wished, and only a spirit of dissatisfaction and revolt was the effect. The Jews rejoiced in the victories of the Mahometans, and commenced a dangerous and hostile correspondence with their brethren, who had sheltered themselves from persecution in Africa. On receiving from them assurances of support, and indulging the secret hope of more effectual assistance of the Saracens, they fixed a day to erect the standard of revolt.

But before the appointed time arrived, their plot was discovered ; complaints were made to the council at Toledo, and the assistance and advice of the anti-christian divines who composed it, was asked. Upon deliberation they fell upon the unjust and cruel resolve, that all the circumcised should be declared perpetual slaves, that their estates should be confiscated, and their children taken from them and educated in the christian faith, as they called it, though it has every mark of being anti-christian.

The Jews at the same time were also oppressed and persecuted in France. King Chilperic, who observed that the Jews in Paris were numerous and affluent, wickedly resolved to use compulsory means to induce them to renounce their religion. He therefore commanded, that all who refused to receive baptism, should be severely punished.

They were treated with still greater severity, by

king Dagobert, in 692. To gain the favor of his wicked clergy and people, and gratify the emperor, he banished from his kingdom, upon pain of death, all the Jews who refused to profess the christian religion. Many, who had fled from Spain to escape persecution, suffered a second exile. But more of them preferred dissimulation, and consented to be baptized, thinking it no harm for peace sake, to have a little water sprinkled on them.

From towards the end of the seventh century to the time of the crusades, nothing very remarkable occurred to the Jews. They were alternately tolerated and persecuted by the caliphs and Greek emperors, according to the temper of the times, or of the sovereigns they were under. In nearly all their persecutions they paid more attention to learning than the professed christians, and in many places had schools and colleges, which were often destroyed by their enemies, as well as their synagogues. In the seventh century, they had a famed academy at Lunel, a city in Languedoc. In process of time it acquired great celebrity, and was the place where some of the most learned Jewish rabbins received their education.



CHAPTER XIII.

Of the State of the Jews in the eighth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries.

THE next great events, materially affecting the Jews, were the crusades, called the Holy Wars, because they were expeditions to recover the Holy Land from the Mahometans, which commenced about the year 1095.*

* For the better understanding of this part of our history, I think it may be well to give here a brief account of what is called the Crusades. Peter, the hermit of Amicus of France, went on a pilgrimage, or journey to Palestine, and there having seen and shared in the distresses and miseries of the christians; when he returned, he represented them

They having imbibed the cruel and detestable idea, that the destruction of the enemies of Christ and his gospel would infallibly obtain the favour and blessing of heaven on their enterprise, they made such havoc and carnage among this unhappy and unfortunate people, that this is reckoned one of the most bloody persecutions which the Jews ever suffered.

The Spanish nobles endeavoured to interpose their authority, and to suppress the cruelties practised on them; but Ferdinand, the Spanish monarch, who wished to ingratiate himself with the zealots, by the persecution of the Albigenes, and others called heretics, encouraged and promoted the persecution.

Previous to the commencement of the crusades, the number and power of the Jews had become great in Germany and Bohemia, where they had erected many stately and superb synagogues. By the march of the crusades in 1096, the Jews were involved in the most terrible calamities they had ever experienced since the days of Adrian. The population seemed to have increased only to furnish new victims for slaugh-

in such pathetic terms, so that by his preaching and instigation, and by the authority of Pope Urban II. and the council of Clermont, the west was stirred up against the east, Europe against Asia, and the christians against Mussulmans, or Mahometans, for the retaking of Jerusalem, and for the recovery of the holy land out of their hands. "It was," says bishop Newton, "the epidemic madness of the times," and old and young, men and women, priests and peasants, monks and soldiers, merchants and mechanics—all were eager to assume the cross, and to set out for what they thought the holy war; but so far from being holy, there was nothing but destruction, wherever they went, particularly to the Jews. Some assert that the number of those who went out on this expedition amounted to above a million. Those who make the lowest calculation affirm, that there were at least three hundred thousand fighting men. After some losses and some victories, the army encamped before Jerusalem; and after a siege of five weeks, took it by storm, on the 15th July, in the year of Christ, 1099, and all who did not profess to be christians they put to the sword. They massacred above seventy thousand mussulmen, or those who professed the Mahometan religion, and the spoils they found in the mosques, were of inestimable value; all the Jews in the place, horrid and lamentable to relate, they gathered together and burnt! (If these were christians, and followers of Christ, and did as he commanded them, the Jews had little reason to believe in, and love such a character. Nay, they were devils incarnate, as opposite to Christ as light is to darkness.) Godfrey of Boulogne, the general, was chosen king; and there he reigned nine years, and in the year 1187, the Mahometans regained their former dominion; and, with but little interruption, they have retained it ever since.

ter. The champions of the cross, as they were called, in their march through Germany to the Holy Land, massacred all who refused to profess their anti-christian religion. Fifteen hundred were burnt at Strasburgh, and thirteen hundred at Mayence. This massacre was continued from the month of April till July. The Batavian analysts state, that upwards of twelve thousand were slain in their country. And all agree that the number who perished in Germany, was astonishingly great. M. Michael Berr, an honest Jewish writer, describes these events as follows : “ Millions of Jews were thus murdered, to glut the pious rage of the crusades. It was by tearing the entrails of their brethren, that these warriors sought to deserve the protection of heaven. Skulls of men, and bleeding hearts, were offered as holocausts on the altar of that God, who has no pleasure even in the blood of the innocent lamb. It is thus that the cities of Basil, Treves, Coblentz, and Cologne, became human shambles.”— Many of the poor Jews, in the frenzy of despair, put an end to their own lives. Even some women at Treves seeing the crusades approaching, killed their children, telling them, “ that it was much better to send them into Abraham’s bosom, than to abandon them to the christians.” Some of the men barricadoed their houses, and flung their families and wealth into the rivers or the flames, and then themselves: thus disappointing the malice, or at least the avarice of their implacable enemies.

During this period of darkness and fanaticism, we find some christian prelates sheltering the persecuted Jews from the fury of the crusades, receiving the poor fugitives into their houses, till the storm passed by. The bishop of Spire, in particular, has been celebrated for his active interference in their behalf. All were put to death, except those who fled and hid themselves among their christian neighbours and acquaintance. There were many Jews, who pretended to be christians, till the storm blew over, when they relapsed again into Judaism,

The persecutions kindled by the crusades was not confined to Germany, but extended through the greatest part of Europe. The public outrage was "let us exterminate the descendants of those who crucified Jesus Christ, and let the name of Israel be no more remembered." What most astonishing blindness and hardness of heart.* Besides the vast multitudes that fell a sacrifice to the bigotry of the princes, and people of the crusades, great numbers, driven to despair by the miseries they suffered, perished by suicide.

In France, about this time, the Jews were accused of the murder of St. William, and many of them were condemned to the flames. The odium which this diabolical act brought upon the rest, exposed them to the insults of the populace. At length king Philip, being so dark and blinded, that under pretence of piety, and zeal for the honor of God, not only banished them his dominions, but confiscated all their wealth and effects; insomuch that they were reduced to the greatest misery, and many fell victims to these oppressive and tyrannical proceedings. They were, however, soon afterwards recalled, and returned in great numbers; but growing numerous and insolent, they assembled in a castle near the river Seine, and having scourged and crowned a youth with thorns, they crucified him, in imitation of that which their predecessors had done to Christ. Showing that they would do the same, if they had the opportunity, of which there is no doubt, being still under the influence of the same spirit. But it should be observed, that the most of the Jews, knowing no better, judged, or conceived an idea of Christ, according to the

* Is it not astonishing, that men professing religion, professing to believe in the mild, kind and tender gospel of Christ, and with it in their hands, and when Christ tells them so plain, that *he came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them*, can, notwithstanding, be so darkened, and blinded, as to think they are doing right, and serving God, in such acts of cruelty; but so it has been. It is sin that blinds the mind, stupifies the senses, and hardens the heart, even so hard that its *tender mercies are cruel*.* How exactly does the apostle describe them. "*Their feet are swift to shed blood: Destruction and misery are in their ways; and the way of peace have they not known.*"

* Prov. xii. 10.

† Rom. iii. 15, 16, 17.

conduct of his professed followers, their persecutors, and therefore he was an object of their detestation ; as well he might be, if he commanded or countenanced such conduct as they were guilty of.

Their usage of the young man caused the king to go there himself, when, according to the cruelty of those times in retaliating, he condemned eighty of them to the flames.

About 1170, Benjamin, a Jew of Tudela, a city in Navarre, visited many regions, both in the east and west, for the purpose of ascertaining the situation of his brethren. He published an account of his travels, and gave a minute relation of whatever was honourable and interesting to his nation. He informs us that the Jews in the east, in the twelfth century, enjoyed the peaceable exercise of their religion. Four thousand of his brethren inhabited Bassora, an island on the Tigris. Seven thousand resided in Almozal, near the ancient Ninevah. Passing through Rehoboth in his way to Bagdat, he discovered 3000 Jews, and 500 at Karchemish, situate on the banks of the Euphrates.

He arrived at Bagdat during the reign of the caliph Mostangen, who highly favoured his nation, and retained a number of Jews in his service. The city of Bagdat contained about 1000 Jews.

Leaving the provinces of Bagdat, our traveller passed through Rozen, where he found 5000 of his brethren, who possessed a spacious synagogue. In Hila about five miles from ancient Babylon, he discovered four synagogues, and 10,000 Jews. Passing onward he arrived at the banks of the river Chebar, where he found sixty synagogues. In Cufa, he discovered nearly 70,000 of his nation.

He found the Jews numerous in Egypt, and computed 30,000 of them in one city, upon the frontiers of Ethiopia. There were about 2000 Israelites, and two synagogues at Misraim, at present Grand Cairo. Several parts of the land of Goshen were inhabited by Jews. Two hundred were found in one place ; and in

another five hundred ; and nearly three thousand in the city of Goshen. About the same number resided at Alexandria, and a few at Damietta.

At Tyre he found about four hundred of his nation, most of whom were employed in the glass manufactory. In Jerusalem, the ancient capitol of the Jewish nation, he found only about two hundred, who all resided together, and made but a poor figure in the city. They were not numerous in the other cities of Judea, in one of which he found only two, in another twenty. Shuman contained about three hundred, at Ascalon there were five hundred and fifty three Jews and Samaritans.

From Palestine he passed into Greece, and found two hundred Jews who resided in mount Parnassus, and obtained a subsistence by cultivating vegetables. There were three hundred at Corinth, and two hundred at Thebes, who were either dyers or silk weavers ; there were a small number at Lepanto Patras, and other parts of the Turkish empire ; but they were neither numerous nor affluent. When Benjamin arrived at Constantinople, he discovered about two thousand of his brethren, where they had been formerly settled by the emperor Theodosius : they were also silk weavers and merchants. The remnants of the nation, in the Ottoman empire, were forbidden to ride on horses in the streets of the cities, and were hated and insulted by Turks and Greeks.

From Constantinople, he passed into Italy. He observes that the Jews were few in these parts. When he got to Rome he found them more numerous, among whom were several learned doctors ; there were also a number in Capua, though the city contained only three hundred Jews. He reckoned five hundred at Naples, and two hundred at Salerno, there were a few settled in other places. The islands of Sicily and Corsica contained a considerable number.

Our traveller passed from Italy into Germany, where he found his nation not only very numerous and affluent, but also learned, devout, and hospitable to stran-

gers. They had by this time, in the year 1170, recovered from the massacres of the crusade, as before related. They much lamented the desolation of their city and temple, and longed for, and expected a glorious recall to their once happy country. Those who dwelt on the banks of the Rhine, were distressed on account of the long delay of the Messiah; and Benjamin confesses he was not able to console them.

He concluded his tour by visiting the synagogues in France, where he found but few Jews.

Lunel, a city in Languedoc, contained an academy, in which the Jews studied the divine law, with intense application.

The Jews were powerful in Spain during part of the twelfth century. One of them, named Joseph, was prime minister to Alphonso VII. This monarch treated the Jews with great indulgence, on account of the love he had for a beautiful young Jewess, named Rachel, to whom he sacrificed his honour and interest.—The Jews by being favoured grew extremely insolent, (as it appears they always did when favoured,) the court and clergy were offended at the haughtiness of their behaviour. At length, the fury of their enemies rose to such an height, and being displeased with the king's fondness for the young Jewess, they caused her to be murdered.

During the twelfth century, many celebrated Jewish rabbies appeared, whose abilities and learning did honour to their nation, and whose writings, it is said furnished assistance towards our understanding the Old Testament. Also several learned Jewish women who were an honour to their sex.

More impostors appeared in this century among the Jews than any other, since their dispersion. In 1137, a false christ arose in France, and caused his followers to hold assemblies contrary to law. He and a large number of his followers were put to death.

The next year, the Persians were disturbed by a Jew, who called himself the messiah, and soon collected a

formidable army of his nation. The Persian monarch paid him a sum of money to disband his soldiers ; but when the stipulated sum was paid, and the promise performed, the king finding himself out of danger, compelled the disarmed Jews to pay the money back again, and caused the impostor to be beheaded.

In 1157, another impostor appeared in Spain. The majority of the most intelligent Jews considered him insane ; but a greater number of this infatuated people believed in him, and many were ruined.

Ten years after another one appeared, and caused many of the Jews much affliction. In 1168, another impostor, an Arabian Jew assumed the title of the Messiah ; pretended to work miracles, and gained many followers ; but at length he was apprehended and brought before the Arabian king. When he was questioned by the monarch, what had induced him to set up for a messiah, he boldly replied, that he was indeed a prophet from God. The king then asked him what miracle he could perform, to confirm his mission ? " Cut off my head," said he, " and I will return to life again." The monarch took him at his word ; promised to believe in him, if he did as he said. After his death, his deluded followers cherished the expectation, that, though he did not immediately put his head upon its place, and come to life, he would at length reanimate their hopes by his appearing alive, but they were compelled to give up their expectations, and were severely fined and punished for their blind credulity.

Some time after another Jew called himself the messiah, and drew vast multitudes after him. He founded his pretension on his having been a leper, and being wonderfully cured in one night of his leprosy. The Jewish doctors convinced his followers that this supposed miracle was not a sufficient evidence of his mission. The populace being ashamed of their credulity, but, as they had taken up arms in his defence, a fresh persecution was raised against them.

In the year 1174, another pretended messiah arose in

Persia. He seduced multitudes of the common people, and involved his nation in a new and severe persecution.

In 1196, a Jew named David Almussor, arose in Moravia, who set up for the messiah, and boasted that he possessed the power of rendering himself invisible whenever he pleased. Vast multitudes were deceived by his artifices and cunning, and followed him. In order to prevent the ill consequences of his popularity, the king promised him his life, on condition he would surrender himself. He complied, but the king caused him to be imprisoned. He had the luck however to escape, and for some time eluded all pursuit. At length the king commanded the Jews to deliver him up ; and, in order to avoid a fresh persecution, they complied.—He was put to death, and a heavy fine imposed upon the Jews.

In 1199, El. David declared himself to be the messiah. He was a native of Almaria, which contained about one thousand Jews, who paid tribute to the king of Persia. As David was a man of learning and well versed in all the arts of deception, he attracted many followers, and became the most noted impostor that had appeared in this century. After he had deluded the populace by his pretended miracles, he prevailed upon them to arm themselves in his cause. The Persian king alarmed at the rapid progress of the insurgents, commanded the impostor to appear before him, promising that if he would prove himself to be the Messiah, he would acknowledge him as a king sent from heaven.—El. David contrary to every ones expectation, obeyed the summons, and assured the king that he was really the messiah ; upon which he was ordered to be imprisoned, till he could prove his mission by extricating himself by miracle. He had the fortune to escape, and, the king despatched messengers in search of him, but he could not be found. But upon a promise made to his father-in-law of ten thousand crowns, if he would deliver him up, he did so, and he was put to death. Vast

numbers who had been deluded by him were cruelly slaughtered.

A person named Zechariah, pretended that by his knowledge of the scripture and of the prophets, he had become acquainted with the exact time that the Messiah would appear ; which he predicted to be just at hand. He foretold the very day on which this mighty deliverer was to appear, that should gather together his elect people, conquer and subdue their enemies, and replace them in their ancient inheritance. The Jews prepared themselves for this event by prayers and fasting, and at the time appointed entered the synagogue clothed in white. But it all proved to be only an imposture, they become ashamed of their conduct ; and were exposed to the mocks and insults of their enemies.

“ It seems strange, (says Ramsey in his Universal History,) that the Jews should have rejected Christ, who gave them so many proofs of his mission, and yet following every impostor, who pretended to be the messiah, without offering any sufficient, or even plausible evidence of it. The reason is plain, Christ the real Messiah, by not setting up a temporal kingdom, disappointed all their worldly views at once ; but the subsequent pretenders to the title of Messiah, began with promises of delivering them from their enemies, restoring them their country and their lost liberties.— These were accordingly, for a time accredited.” The Jews have always been a worldly people, Christ’s mission related to salvation from sin, to the saving of the soul, which the Jews, like many other people, apparently care but little about.

It is astonishing, that rational creatures should be so absurd and inconsistent, as to prefer things of a moment, to those which are eternal. To those which will make them happy here and eternally hereafter, and to give the preference to those things which will do neither.

CHAPTER XIV.

Of the Jews in England, in the twelfth, thirteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

WILLIAM RUFUS highly favoured the Jews, and not only permitted, but encouraged them to enter into solemn contest and disputes with his bishops, concerning the true faith. He sent for some learned christian divines and Jewish Rabbies, and ordered them fairly to dispute the questions of their religion in his presence, assuring them he was perfectly indifferent between them, and that he would embrace that doctrine which appeared to be supported by the most solid arguments. Accordingly there was a public meeting of the chief leaders on both sides, in London, where the contest was maintained with great zeal ; but, as usual in these cases, without effect. Each party thought his argument the strongest, but it is a credit to them that they carried on their disputes without passion.

In 1189, when Richard the I. ascended the throne, a rumour was rapidly spread in London, that the king in honour of the festival, had given orders for the massacre of the Jews. A command so agreeable to the wicked infuriated rabble, was instantly executed on all who fell into their hands. Those who remained at home were exposed to equal danger, the people broke into their houses, which they plundered, after having murdered their owners. Where the Jews barricadoed their doors, and defended themselves with vigour, the rabble set fire to their houses, and then pillaged all they could. The inhabitants of other cities of England, hearing of the slaughter of this unhappy people in the Metropolis, imitated the example. Though the government published a proclamation the day after the coronation, in order to suppress the fury of the populace, but the persecution was continued the greater part of the year. Are there any people so wicked in this day, in our country, in the United

States, (supposing that there were as many Jews here,) that they would be guilty of such cruel wicked conduct?

This afflicted people, suffered a still more severe persecution when Richard I. engaged in the crusades.— They had furnished him with vast sums towards the expedition ; but this did not satisfy the people. They complained of the conduct as well as the faith of the Jews. The prejudices of the age had given to the lending of money on interest, the envious name of usury ; yet the necessity of the practice had continued it, and the greater part of this dealing fell every where in the hands of the Jews, who filled their pockets by every kind of rigour, and sometimes extortion. Their industry and economy had put them in possession of nearly all the current ready money, for which the idleness and extravagance of English spendthrifts, furnished borrowers at an exorbitant interest.

Those who were preparing for the unholy, called holy war, felt vexed that the enemies of Christ should abound in wealth, while they who supposed themselves his peculiar friends and favourites,* should be obliged to deprive themselves of necessities, in order to defray the expenses of the crusades. Hence they persuaded themselves it would be a meritorious act, to destroy the descendants of those who had crucified Jesus Christ, and apply their wealth to this holy, (most unholy and wicked) enterprise. Though the king, at his departure, had left orders that they should not be molested, yet as soon as he had quitted the kingdom, the fury of the populace again broke out. They destroyed many of these poor afflicted people at Norwich, Stanford, and some other places, and plundered them of their property.— The murderers took shipping as soon as possible and fled to Jerusalem.

* They were as great enemies to Christ as the Jews were, yea greater, for they professed to believe in him, but by their wicked *works they denied him*, being a disgrace to Christ and his religion. They were as much worse enemies than the Jews, as a hypocrite, is worse than one who openly shows what he is.

A still more horrid transaction took place at York, where the Jews were great usurers. As they lived in a splendid manner, their opulence excited envy, and increased the hatred against them. The populace in this city assembled, to inflict the same barbarities upon them which the Jews had suffered in London and other places. Upon which the chief persons among this people applied to the governor of York castle, and prevailed on him to grant them a place of safety. The place appointed was sufficiently strong for their defence ; but a suspicion arising among the Jews, that the governor had combined with their enemies to destroy them, they one day refused him entrance. An order was given to attack the castle : this however was soon revoked ; but, as the fury of the populace could not be appeased only by murder and robbery, the attack was made.—When the Jews found that they could not hold out any longer, and their offers to purchase their lives with money were rejected, they took the horrid resolution, (as we have read the Jews had often done before,) of destroying themselves. One of the most desperate among them exclaimed in despair, that, “ it was better to die courageously for the law, than to fall into the hands of christians.” (If he had said devils, it would have been much more proper, than to call them christians.*) Accordingly, after setting fire to the towers of the castle, and destroying their wives and children, they destroyed their own lives. Five hundred perished at this time.—A few, who surrendered, in hopes of mercy, were murdered by the ungodly wicked populace.

Immediately after this dreadful work, those who were indebted to the Jews went to the cathedral, where the bonds they had given were deposited. After compelling the officer, who had them in keeping, to deliver

* The majority of the Jews knowing no better, but that their persecutors were christians, they had little reason to believe in Christ, he was rather an object of their detestation. But the knowing among them acknowledge that the doctrine and precepts of Christ countenances no such conduct, but teaches directly the reverse.

them up, the debtors cleared themselves from all obligations to pay, by burning the bonds before they left the house. (What injustice and wickedness!!) They also entered and plundered the houses which belonged to the Jews. The king, incensed at this insult to his authority, ordered the bishop of Ely, at that time chief justice of the realm, to make severe examples of the guilty; but before he could get into Yorkshire, the principal offenders had fled. The late cruel events being imputed to the ungodly fury of the multitude, the bishop only deprived the high sheriff and governor of their offices, and levying fines upon the most opulent of the inhabitants, for not doing more than they did to hinder the proceedings of the populace.

The cruel persecutions which the Jews suffered during the reign of Richard, had caused many of the wealthiest among them to leave the kingdom. The revenue was so much reduced thereby, that John, upon his taking the throne, used various means to induce them to return. Upon receiving a large sum of money, he granted them a charter, which confirmed all their ancient privileges, and allowed them to hold lands, to build synagogues, and have a high priest. Many of this oppressed people returned, and were more cruelly persecuted than ever. The exorbitant usury, united with the religious prejudices of the age, had rendered them so odious to the people, that they were continually demanding their expulsion, or rather extermination. But the English kings found a more advantageous way of punishing them, by means of imposing heavy fines on them.

The Jews soon found that their usurious modes of raising money would be tolerated, on condition of their paying the fines imposed by the king for their extortions. This compelled them to rise in their demands upon those who applied to them for the coin of money. In this manner, a system of usurious oppression was at the same time prohibited by law, and sanctioned by the practice of the sovereigns, who used the Jews as

their instruments to fleece the people, in order to fill their own coffers.

King John, regardless of the privileges which the Jews had purchased from him in the beginning of his reign, ordered the whole of them, women as well as men, to be imprisoned and tormented, until they should pay him the sum of 6600 marks. The ransom required from a wealthy Jew of Bristol, was 10,000 marks of silver; and on his refusing to pay that unjust and ruinous fine, the wicked king ordered one of his teeth to be drawn every day, until payment was made. To this the poor man submitted seven days; but on the eighth, agreed to pay the sum demanded. It is asserted by some historians, that the king, not satisfied with the vast sums extorted from this afflicted people, at last confiscated all their property, and banished them the kingdom; but they were soon permitted to return.

Henry the III. in 1233, founded a seminary, in which those who would renounce Judaism, and embrace the christian religion, might be supported without labour or usury. This induced many of them to profess christianity; but he might have known it was only pretended. This house continued until after their expulsion from England.

In 1235, the Jews of Norwich were accused of having stolen a christian child, and kept him a year, that they might circumcise, and crucify him at their next passover; under this unlikely charge, they suffered a severe persecution. In London they were also accused of murders and other atrocious crimes, and after enduring various vexations and torments, they were obliged to pay one third of their wealth. Even this did not satisfy the insatiable king, who soon after renewed his extortions. They were accused of coining false money, and counterfeiting the king's seal; and under these pretences were loaded with enormous tax-

es.* In 1241, twenty thousand marks were extorted from them. Two years afterwards, a Jew, named Aaron, of York, was compelled to pay four gold, and four thousand of silver marks. In seven years, the same man was accused of forgery, and unjustly condemned to pay four thousand marks of gold, and fourteen thousand of silver. The high penalty imposed upon him, which it seems he was thought able to pay, is rather a proof of his innocence than of his guilt. No doubt but that he was innocent; but it appears as if they thought injustice towards a Jew was no crime.

New supplies were demanded from them for carrying on the Spanish war in 1254. Irritated to the highest degree by this oppression, they requested permission to depart from England, for some more friendly country; but this, by the cruel, unjust wretches, was refused; and they were compelled to pay what was demanded. The next year, the king renewed these extortions. He said that notwithstanding the taxes he had raised, he still continued poor, and in debt; and declared, that "he must have money from any hand, from any quarter, or by any means." He then demanded eight thousand marks from the Jews; and upon their pleading insolvency, sold them to his brother Richard for that sum, who, in all probability, would have compelled them to refund it, had he not been convinced of their real poverty and distress.

The hatred of the people against the Hebrew nation, had, during the reign of Henry, arrived to such a height, that when the barons appeared in arms against the king, they endeavoured to gain the citizens of London to their interest, by massacreing seven hundred of this poor afflicted people.

* I think no people under heaven were ever used worse, or hardly could be, than the poor Jews have been by the professed christians. It appears probable that most, if not all, of the accusations made against them, was only to afford a plausible pretext for extorting their money from them. Never was any thing more true than what Moses said should befall them—"that they should be only oppressed and spoiled evermore."

In the third year of the reign of Edward, a law was passed, which forbid the usury of the Jews, but allowed them to purchase houses and lands. No christian was permitted to lodge in their dwellings; and every Jew, above seven years of age, was obliged to wear a peculiar mark, of two pieces of cables joined upon his upper garment.

King Edward forbade their selling, or assigning their debts, without his license. He ordered all their repositories, throughout the kingdom, to be searched; and to establish an inquisition, to take cognizance of those who neglected to wear the distinguished badges as above mentioned. The oppression and misery under which they continually groaned, appears to have rendered them regardless of their character; and the frequent unjust extortions of such vast sums from them, seems to have made them imagine every method justifiable, by which they could indemnify themselves. They were accused of adulterating the coin, circulating counterfeit money, and making fraudulent exchanges. In consequence of their supposed guilt, and the outcry raised against them, all the Jews in England were imprisoned in one day, and two hundred and eighty executed in London, besides vast numbers in different parts of the kingdom. Their houses and lands, as well as the goods of multitudes were confiscated and sold. Lest it should be suspected that the property of the sufferers were the chief part of their guilt, ordered a moiety, or little of their money raised by these confiscations to be reserved, to be bestowed upon such as were willing to be converted to (their) christianity; but they felt too much resentment to be tempted by their poverty; therefore very few could be induced by interest to embrace the religion of their persecutors.

About this time, A. D. 1290, king Edward, prompted by his wicked zeal, ordered the Jews to be banished from the kingdom, and never to return, upon pain of death. He seized at once their whole property, and allowed them only money sufficient to bear their ex-

penses into foreign countries, where new persecutions and extortions awaited them;* but the seamen of the cinque ports, (i. e. those who lie on the south east of England,) took from them the little that had been allowed them, and even threw several hundreds of them into the sea. (It appears as if they thought no more of the poor Jews, than of cats and dogs.) But to the credit of the king he inflicted a capital punishment upon the perpetrators of this crime. The number of those who were expelled, amounted to sixteen thousand, five hundred and eleven. Edward had previously banished them from his territories in France. After this expulsion, the Jews never appeared again in a body in England, for the space of three hundred and fifty years.

At the close of that period, or about the middle of the seventeenth century, the English government was changed to a republic. The advantages that Holland had derived from tolerating the Jews, induced Oliver Cromwell to attempt to restore their industry and wealth to Great Britain. They obtained permission to send a public envoy to England, with proposals for their admission into the kingdom. The celebrated Menasses Ben Israel was chosen to conduct the negotiation.

This venerable Rabbi, after his arrival in England, presented an address to Cromwell, acknowledging his authority, and soliciting his protection. "For our people," said he, "presage, that the monarchical government being now changed into that of a commonwealth, the ancient hatred towards the Jews will be converted into good will; and that the rigorous laws, if any are yet extant, made against an innocent people, will happily be repealed." He also printed and dispersed a declaration to the commonwealth, and a treatise containing several arguments for toleration.

* If they had have come to America, the Indians would have treated them with kindness, and set the professed christians an example. It is certain they would not have used them the worse for being Jews. But unfortunately for the poor Jews, there was no asylum here—America was not yet discovered.

Cromwell was induced to recall the Jews ; but, being apprised of the unpopularity of the measure, and desirous of procuring the favour of the clergy, he summoned a convention of divines, and other influential men, to debate whether it would be adviseable to re-admit the Jews to settle in the kingdom. He declared to the assembly, " that since there was a promise of the conversion of this people, and the gospel in its primitive purity was preached, *as he thought*, in England, their recall might be a mean to induce them to embrace Christianity." The celebrated Dr. Goodwin, and a few other good clergymen, exerted all their eloquence in favour of re-admitting the Jews, and allowing them equal privileges with other sects. But the majority of the bigoted clergy strenuously opposed their return, and alleged, that " there was danger of their seducing others to their religion ; that their customs and practices would set an evil example ; and that their possessing synagogues was not only an evil in itself, but a scandal to all christian churches." The intolerant and absurd sentiments advanced in this assembly, discouraged the protector from proceeding, but intimated to Menasses that his brethren the Jews, might return individually, and he would do all he could to protect them, or to see that they should not be injured, therefore some of them ventured to come to England.

They were permitted to reside in the kingdom, and exercise their religion ; but no act of the British legislature passed, nor was any proclamation made in their favour, though they were ready to advance large sums for admission and an establishment. It is even said, that they offered to prove Cromwell to be the Messiah, but that he was ashamed of the proposal, and rejected it with contempt.

About the same time, a deputation of Asiatic Jews arrived, with the celebrated rabbi Jacob Benazabel at their head. It is asserted, that it was their object in order to ascertain whether Cromwell was not their expected Messiah ; and that they enquired among his re-

latives when he was born ; and whether any of his ancestors in the male line, could not be proved to be of Jewish origin. These enquiries and the real motives of their coming to England, soon transpired at London ; and, on account of the scandal they had occasioned, they were expelled the kingdom.

Soon after, another deputation, with Menasses Ben Israel again at their head, arrived in England. But still Cromwell did not dare to give them a license to settle in the kingdom, he only connived at their admittance, and granted them a toleration.

Charles II. gained by bribes, and indifferent to all religious professions, connived at their settlement in England, and their number increased ; they were considered as aliens in the eye of the law.

In 1723, a Jewish proselyte was patronised, and a work exposing the absurdities of the Talmud,* was published by him, and sanctioned by Dr. Wilkins, archbishop of Canterbury. This convert, named Moses Marcus, was descended from a reputable family in the city of Hamburg, and born in London in 1701. His parents, who resided there, had him well instructed in Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Rabbinical learning. Being sent to Hamburg to complete his education, he formed an acquaintance with several German protestant clergymen, with whom he conversed upon the difference between the Jewish and christian faith. And on reading the New-Testament, and other books in support of the christian religion, he became convinced that Jesus Christ is the true Messiah. In 1721, his father who had made a voyage to India, returned very rich, and sent for his son from Hamburg. Marcus soon informed his father of the change that had taken place in his mind respecting religion. His father threatened to disinherit him if he embraced christianity. But on condition he did not, he made him the most alluring and magnificent offers. But all his threatenings, and

* Talmud, is a book in seven folio volumes, containing the Jewish law, and ceremonies, and explanations thereof, compiled by their Rabbins, and held in great estimation among the Jews.

promises were ineffectual. He was baptized in 1723, and soon after published a work, which explained his motives for embracing the christian religion ; pointed out the fulfilment of the prophecies concerning Christ, and exposed the absurdities and contradictions of the Talmud.

In 1753, during the reign of George II., a bill was brought into parliament for naturalizing all persons professing the Jewish religion, who had resided in Britain or Ireland three years. This favour was to be obtained upon application, without receiving the sacrament of bread and wine, which was what other aliens in order to their naturalization had to do. But they were to be debarred from any civil or ecclesiastical offices. The bill was supported by petitions from many merchants and manufacturers.

The British ministry favoured the bill, and argued that by admitting the Jews to partake of the civil rights of British subjects, they would become attached to the English constitution and country, and thereby lessen the public burden ; that, as a great portion of the funds belonged to foreign Jews, it was wise to induce them to follow their property, and spend their money in the kingdom ; that connected as they were with the great bankers, and monied interest in Europe, their residence in the country would, in case of future wars, give the inhabitants a great command of capital. They supposed that by passing the act, would encourage the rich of the Jewish nation to come from foreign parts to Great Britain ; increase the commerce and credit of the kingdom ; and set a laudable example of industry, temperance, and frugality.

But those who opposed the passing of the bill, argued, that if they were admitted to the rank of citizens, they would monopolize the whole commerce of the kingdom, gain possession of the landed estates ; and dispossess the christian owners. They also argued that it was impious to gather a people whose dispersion was foretold in the sacred scriptures, and who, according to the

prophecies, were to remain without country or habitation, until they should be converted and collected together in the land of their ancestors; and that an attempt to incorporate them, before they renounced Judaism, directly opposed the will of heaven, and by endeavouring to procure for them a civil and comfortable condition while they remained Jews and unbelievers, which it is predicted they should not enjoy till they became believers in Jesus Christ. The lord mayor, alderman, and commons of the city of London, presented a petition to London, which expressed their apprehension, that the bill, if passed into a law, would tend greatly to dishonour the christian religion, and endanger the constitution. Another petition to the same purpose was presented to the house, subscribed by the merchants and traders in London. ~~But notwithstanding the general~~ opposition, the bill passed both houses, and king George II. gave it the royal assent. This act soon become an object of national horror and execration. Every part of the kingdom resounded with reproaches of the ministry who had recommended such an odious measure. It was much opposed by many of the clergy from their pulpits, by the corporation, and by the ignorant populace. In consequence of which, by the next session of parliament, almost all the members had been solicited to have it repealed, it was accordingly done.

This measure was considered as one of the necessary sacrifices which wisdom is compelled to offer on the altar of ignorance and prejudice.

Since this attempt in favour of the Jews was defeated, their legal condition in England is not altered; but they are no longer the object of that contempt and of those debasing injuries to which they had formerly been subject. They are indulged in the free exercise of their religious worship, and admitted to an equal right with other citizens to the secure enjoyment of their property. Though their religion keeps them from taking the test oaths, and from public offices, they appear to be contented with the privileges they now enjoy.

Among the learned Jews who have appeared in England, David, Levi, and Israel, are the principal.

It is uncertain what number of Jews are in England, but they are calculated to be between sixteen thousand and twenty-six thousand.



CHAPTER XV.

Of the state of the Jews in France, in the twelfth, and following centuries.

WHILE the Jews in England were enduring all kind of hardships and oppression, their brethren in France were subjected to similar sufferings. In about the year 1182, king Philip banished them from his dominions, and confiscated their estates. They were permitted to retain only what could be collected from the forced sales of their furniture. The king ordered them soon after to be recalled, at which many were offended; but the king excused himself, by alleging that it was for the purpose of extorting money from them, and making the taxes lighter on his own subjects.

Louis IX., surnamed the Saint, in the beginning of his reign, called a council at Melun, in which a law was enacted expressly forbidding all his subjects from borrowing money of the Jews, and several oppressive laws were made against them. He even ordered the Jews to be severely fined, if they neglected to wear a distinguished and disgraceful badge on their garments, as something like two pieces of cable heretofore mentioned, and forbid them having any intercourse with the christians. I suppose this they little regarded, any further than it affected their interest. During his reign, when a Jew appeared in evidence against a christian, he was compelled to swear by the ten names of God; and his oath was accompanied with many imprecations on his own head, if he deviated from the truth. The

person who administered the oath, thus addressed him :
 “ May the Lord God send you a continual fever or
 ague, if you are guilty of perjury ; may he destroy you
 in his anger, you, and your family, and your effects :
 May the sword and death, fear and inquietude pursue
 you on all sides ; may the earth swallow you up, like
 Dathan and Abiram ; may all the sins of your parents
 and all the maledictions contained in the law of Moses,
 fall on your head.” To this dreadful, but what may
 be called nonsensical imprecation, the poor Jews were
 compelled to answer three times, “ so be it.”

The most signal calamity the Jews suffered during
 the reign of St. Louis, was a persecution raised against
 them by the Parisians, on account, as was pretended,
 of their sacrificing some christian children on Good
 Friday, and using their blood at the solemnity of the
 passover. For this imputed, but most unlikely act of
 murder and impiety, they were cruelly slaughtered in
 the metropolis. The persecution was also extended to
 Brie, Lorraine, Ajou, Poitou, and Maine, in which
 places upwards of two thousand five hundred Jews who
 refused to embrace their christianity, were put to
 death.

An act was passed in 1239, which declared that all
 the Jews should be forever banished from Brittany.—
 By this law all their debtors were exonerated ; their ef-
 fects ordered to be retained, and those who had lately
 killed a Jew, were forbidden to be disturbed. The
 king of France was requested to expel the hated race,
 and confiscate their property.

In 1290, Edward, king of England, banished this
 people from Gascony, and his other dominions in
 France. The example of the English monarch was
 followed by Philip, the Fair, who published an edict
 in 1300, by which all the Jews who refused to profess
 christianity, were expelled the kingdom, never to return
 upon pain of death. These afflicted people were sac-
 rificed to the king's extreme avarice ; for he seized upon
 all their wealth, and only allowed them money to defray

their expenses to the frontiers. Many perished by the way, with fatigue and want; and those who survived retired into Germany.

In the reign of Philip the V. the shepherds and other inhabitants, collected in great bodies, and asserted that they were going to Jerusalem. Their leaders were two profligate priests, who imposed upon the credulity of the people; they broke open the prison doors, and enlisted into their society all the criminals whom they found, and all others of the poor who had little to support themselves, and they became numerous and powerful. They made themselves masters of several cities, and committed the vilest outrages, particularly against the Jews; for they appear to be always the greatest sufferers, let what will happen. They had their choice either to suffer death, or be baptized. They collected their most valuable effects, and fled before this tumultuous rabble. A considerable number of them took refuge in the royal castle of Verdun, near Toulouse, and were there besieged by the shepherds. They defended themselves with vigour and desperation; but finding they were likely to be overcome, they endeavoured to excite the pity of their enemies, by the astonishing conduct of throwing their children over the walls!! but this having no effect, the shepherds set fire to the fortress, and expected to satiate their rage with the slaughter of the besieged. The Jews perceiving there was no means of escape, and to avoid falling into the hands of their enemies, requested a young man of great strength, one of their brethren, to put them all to death. This is astonishing; but the more so, that he should do as they requested. After he had killed five hundred, he presented himself to the besiegers, with a few children whose lives he had spared, and to save his own life, he requested to be baptized. His request was refused, and he was put to death. After some time there was an end to the gang called shepherds, and a great number were apprehended and executed.

Ten years after, the Jews were involved in another

calamity. They were charged with poisoning the springs, wells, and reservoirs of water. A leper having sworn that he was hired by a certain rich Jew to poison the waters, the people in several provinces, without waiting for proof of the charge, attacked the Jews and put them to the most cruel death ; some driven by despair, killed themselves. The rich were imprisoned, till they discovered their treasure, of which the unjust and wicked king seized, the greatest part for his own use, and then expelled them from his dominions.

During the reign of Charles VI. the Jews having had liberty to return into the kingdom, they were accused of murdering a new convert to christianity ; and of other crimes, for which some were executed, and others scourged, and fines levied upon the synagogues. These severities induced many to assume the mask of christianity. The people, however, in 1380, insisted upon their expulsion, and assembled, at the instigation of a certain nobleman who had borrowed large sums from this persecuted people ; they entered into their houses and destroyed the bonds, and other securities for money lent. In a single street, thirty houses were pillaged ; and all the furniture, cloathes, plate, and jewels, became the prey of the populace. The Jews endeavoured to preserve their lives by flight ; but most of them were intercepted, and massacred. The women in despair attempted to follow their husbands, with their children in their arms ; but the mob forced their children from them, and carried them to be baptized.

The government was too weak to punish the transgressors. The Jews, however, that survived, were re-established in their habitations ; and an order was issued by the council, for every one to restore, under pain of death, whatever he had taken from them ; but the order was treated with contempt, and neglected.

These miserable objects of oppression after being robbed of their property, were exposed to prosecutions from those who had left pledges and property into their hands ; but an ordinance was passed to exempt them

from the consequences, on their taking an oath that the property, which was the object of the action, had been taken from them during the tumult.

In the reign of Charles VI. a council, which was held in the year 1394, passed an act for the final expulsion of the Jews from France. They were obliged to leave the kingdom in November. The greater part of this poor, afflicted, persecuted people retired into Germany. In the city of Metz, in Lorraine, they were tolerated, and for a long period, it was the only place in the kingdom, where they enjoyed a secure abode.

The Jews had in Lorraine several synagogues, of which two were at Nancy. But Alsace was the province in which they were the most numerous, they had there fifty-two synagogues. Since the French revolution, the number of them in that city is computed from five to six thousand. ~~Other cities in France contain~~ a small number of them; but in Paris they are more numerous, than any other part of the kingdom.

“Respecting the repeated accusations,” says an excellent writer, “brought against the Jews, of crucifying christian children, poisoning the waters, &c. it may be observed, that these were mere pretences to palliate the oppressions and cruelties they suffered. The relations of their sacrificing christian children, are given by christian historians: but even granting that rage, madness, or a desire of revenge, may have induced some fanatics to commit these excesses, surely we are not to consider the whole nation as culpable. The poisoning fountains forms an accusation much more absurd. To induce people to commit crimes, they must be actuated by some motives, and the hopes of success; but what could the Jews expect to gain, in poisoning springs from which they themselves daily drew water? It is not creditable that the Jews who were so much interested in living upon good terms with other nations, should attempt crimes, the perpetration of which would be followed by severe correction. On the other hand, it ought to be remembered, that the cruelty of

professed christians to the Jews, in those dark ages, is no disparagement to religion itself, the genuine spirit of which breathes, peace on earth and good will to men."

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the history of the Jews in France, were generally peaceable during these periods. But the publick contempt was exhibited by avoiding their society. And sometimes ignorant people insulted and abused them. In several places they were obliged to wear something in their dress to distinguish them from other people. This had a bad effect, so far as to cause them to be the more insulted. However, the progress of knowledge has diminished the prejudices against them. Persecution has always in a great measure been caused by ignorance. No man of information will persecute his fellow creature, for his faith, opinions or sentiments.

About this time, a learned Jew published a work in vindication of his brethren, and refuted the calumnies at different times charged against them.



CHAPTER XVI.

Of the Jews in the East, the Turkish dominions, Arabia, China, India, and other countries of Asia, from the thirteenth to the nineteenth century.

PALESTINE was greatly depopulated by the wars which raged between the christians and Saracens. The Jews, however, had still a few synagogues and learned Rabbies in their native country.

The Jews near Babylon, and other parts of the east, suffered greatly from the invasion of the Tartars in 1291 : but at length they enjoyed an interval of tranquillity under John Argun, by means of a Jewish physician, whom that prince raised to the office of his chief minister. After the death of Argun, the Jewish prime minister, being hated by the Mahometans and

Árabs for his kindness to his own sect, the Jews were accused of having poisoned that prince, and on this accusation was put to death. A great number of his nation also suffered with him.

During the wars and rapid conquest of Tamerlane, in 1500, the Jews in Media and Persia, were not only impoverished, but their academies, learning and learned men, entirely disappeared. They had scarcely recovered from these disasters, when they were involved in new calamities. At the commencement of the reign of Shah Abbas, the kingdom of Persia was greatly depopulated. This monarch was hence induced to confer important privileges on all strangers who would settle in the kingdom. Multitudes, particularly Jews, repaired from various places.

Under Shah Abbas II. in 1666, a great council was convened, on the subject of the Jews ; in which it was wickedly resolved, that this wretched people should be exterminated without delay. Accordingly, an order was issued to the Persians and strangers, to massacre the Jews without distinction of age, sex or condition. Those only were excepted who embraced the Mahometan religion. This persecution commenced at Ispahan the capital of the kingdom, and extended with equal severity, to the several provinces inhabited by wealthy Jews. For three years they were pursued with fury, and murdered without intermission or pity. A few found means to escape into the Turkish dominions ; others in India : and many preserved their lives by renouncing their religion. It was at length observed that the pretended converts secretly practised the Jewish rites ; and the wicked king, finding that compulsory measures failed to effect a change in their minds, (it requires but little sense to know, that it has the direct contrary effect,) permitted them to retain their former religious principles. They were obliged annually to pay a large sum of money to the king, and to wear a disgraceful mark of distinction.

A large proportion of the inhabitants at Bagdat were Jews, who possessed a synagogue, and enjoyed their religion without interruption. They were, however, hated and despised by their fellow subjects.

The Jews since their dispersion, have never been numerous in Palestine or Judea, but have seen their ancient and beloved country successfully possessed by Pagans, professed Christians, and Turks. It has indeed been frequently visited by Jewish as well as christian devotees; but few have fixed their abodes in a province where they found it difficult to acquire wealth, or even a comfortable living.

In the preceding part of this work, we have seen the Jews during sixteen centuries, obstinately rejecting the true Messiah, and frequently duped by impostors, who assumed this character. This infatuation continued unabated, after repeated disappointments, had often been the cause of terrible calamities.

The Jewish nation entertained strong expectations, that some wonderful event would take place during the year 1666; and false reports were eagerly circulated. It was said that great multitudes marched from unknown parts to the remote deserts of Arabia, and they were supposed to be the ten tribes of Israel, who had been dispersed for many ages. These accounts excited the enthusiasm of a credulous people, and prepared their minds to receive an impostor.

Then it was that Sabatai Sevi proclaimed himself the Messiah, and deliverer of Israel, to whom he promised a glorious kingdom, of prosperity and peace. He was born at Aleppo; he was very bookish, and made great proficiency in the Hebrew learning. He preached in the streets and fields, and gained a great number of disciples and followers, by whom he was much admired. He studied the prophecies abundantly in order to apply them to himself. The Jews now attended to but little business, discoursed of nothing but their return, and firmly believed Sabatai to be the Messiah, and that which he promised the Jews, they firmly believed.

A right reverend person, then in Turkey, meeting with a Jew of his acquaintance at Aleppo, he asked him what he thought of Sabatai. The Jew replied, that he believed him to be the Messiah, and that if he should prove an impostor, he would then turn Christian.

He pretended to perform miracles, and to do many wonderful things.

Some of the intelligent Jews did not believe in him, and summoned him to appear before the synagogues, and condemned him to death. But as they could not prevail upon any to execute the sentence, they contented themselves with banishing the impostor.

He passed over to Salonichi; but, being expelled thence, as well as from several Greek towns, he went to Alexandria, where he acquired great celebrity. After travelling into Morea and Tripoli, he arrived at Gaza, where he preached repentance and faith in himself, so effectually, that the Jews gave up their business, and applied themselves to devotion.

He in his writings, styled himself the only and first born son of God, the Saviour. Many of his followers fell into strange ecstasies, four hundred men and women prophesied of his growing kingdom, and young children that could but just speak, would almost continually cry Sabatai Messias, and son of God. The people for a time acted as if possessed with some supernatural spirit, voices were said to issue from their bowels; some fell into trances, foamed at their mouth, recounting their future prosperity, their visions of the glory of Jerusalem, of Judea and Sabatai. Whereas the Jews in their synagogue, had prayed for the Grand Seignior, he ordered those prayers to be foreborn for the future, thinking it not proper to pray for him who was shortly to be his captive. He elected princes to govern the Jews in their march towards the Holy Land, and to administer justice, when they should be possessed of it. The people were now pressing to see some miracle to confirm their faith, and to convince the gentiles. Here the impostor was puzzled; but the credulous people supplied the de-

fect. When Sabatai was before the Cadi, or magistrate, some affirmed that between him and the Cadi, they saw a pillar of fire, and after some had affirmed it, some others were ready to swear to it, and did so. He that did not now believe Sabatai to be the Messiah, was considered as an enemy to the welfare of the Jews, and spurned as an excommunicated person.

Sabatai left Smyrna, for Constantinople, where he expected to gain numerous proselytes, but the Jews in this city had previously received letters from twenty-five Rabbi's who had excommunicated him. This induced Sabatai Sevi, (or as some call him Zabathai Trevi,) to return to Smyrna where he received four ambassadors, sent by his precursor, to acknowledge him as the Messiah. This embassy increased the number of his disciples, and even imposed upon part of the learned Rabbi. The multitude deceived by his apparent humility, and more especially by his pathetic sermons, acknowledged him for their Messiah and King, and brought him rich presents to support his dignity. Previous to this he had chosen one Nathan Levi, a Jew of great reputation in Gaza, as a precursor, or as one to go before him, clear the way and to aid and assist. Levi was employed in persuading his nation in different parts, that Sevi was their long expected deliverer, who was about to destroy the Ottoman or Turkish empire. He asserted that after being concealed nine months, this mighty conqueror would appear in glory, mounted upon a celestial lion, and that a superb temple would descend from heaven, in which sacrifices were continually to be offered. While Levi was at Damascus, he wrote to Sebi, and thus began his letter. "To the king our kings, lord of lords, who redeems our captivity, the man elevated to the height of sublimity, the Messiah's of the God of Jacob, the true Messiah, the celestial lion Sabatai Sevi. At this period, the Jews in all the Turkish dominions, entertained great expectations of glorious times. They were *devout* and *penitent*; *prayed*, fasted, and inflicted severe penances on themselves.

Business was neglected, superfluities was sold, and the poor abundantly *provided for* ; this has some appearance of being like preparatory to their restoration, for devoutness, penitence or repentance, prayer, and kindness to the poor is all very good, and is that which must be done, when the right time does come. For a restoration without being a righteous and holy people, would answer but little purpose, for they could not be a happy people, and they may as well remain where they are, for if they were restored and still a wicked people, they would be subject to the same, or similar afflictions as before, the natural and unavoidable consequences of sin and wickedness. For it is only righteousness, that exalteth a nation, and it is only that by which it can continue so.

The Jewish doctors at Smyrna, convened again to consult concerning this one whom they judged to be an impostor, as he daily become more important.

The wise among them not finding the character of the Messiah in Sebi, condemned him to death. But the impostor's party, being far the most numerous, he caused them to assemble in the great synagogue in that city ; celebrated a new feast ; repeatedly pronounced the name of Jehovah ; and altered the Jewish liturgy. His audience acknowledged his authority, and supposed they beheld something divine in his person. Another sentence of death, pronounced by the Rabbi's did not intimidate him, because he was convinced none would presume to execute it. He repaired to the Cadi, whom his friend had gained, and put himself under his protection. The next step taken by the impostor, was to cause a throne to be raised for himself and queen, from which he preached to his subjects, and immense numbers attended to hear him. He composed new articles of faith, which was received as coming from the hands of their Messiah. Some there were who opposed, but they soon found that they must fly, or hide themselves to save their lives. Many who had been unbelievers, now professed to believe in him, and the number of his disciples

rapidly increased. They construed many of the prophecies of the Old Testament, to be applicable to this Messiah, and that he was really the one pointed out by the prophets, to restore Israel. He styled himself, "King of the kings of Israel!" and Joseph, his brother, "King of the kings of Judea." At length he declared he was called to visit Constantinople, where he had a great work to perform; and accordingly in January, 1666, he embarked in a small vessel for that city. While many of his disciples followed him by land. The Sultan being informed of his arrival, sent orders to apprehend and confine him in prison. This event instead of discouraging, strengthened the faith of the Jews; for they recollected that Levi had predicted, that the Messiah was to be concealed nine months. They maintained that the Sultan had not power to take his life. Upon his examination, he asserted, that his nation had compelled him to assume the title of king. This answer induced the Sultan to treat him with kindness, and permit the Jews to visit him in prison. These Jews in Constantinople were as infatuated as their brethren in Smyrna. They omitted trade and refused to pay their debts. Some English merchants, not knowing how to recover what was due to them from the Jews, visited Sebi, and made their complaints to him against his subjects. Upon which he wrote to them as follows.

"To you of the nation of the Jews, who expect the appearance of the Messiah, and the salvation of Israel, peace without end. Whereas we are informed, that you are indebted to several of the English nation, it seemeth right unto us, to order you to make satisfaction for your just debts, which if you refuse to do, be it known, that you are not to enter with us into our joys and dominions." It is said that there is something good in every man, this was good in Sabatai, and the only good act that we read of his doing.

Sebi remained a prisoner in Constantinople, for the time of two months: The grand Vizier, designing to go to Candia, thought it not safe to leave him in the ci-

ty during the Sultan's absence, and his own; he therefore, removed him to the Dardanelli, which occasioned the Jews to conclude that the Turks could not take his life; and which they supposed to be a new miracle. The Jews flocked in great numbers to the castle, where he was a prisoner, not only those that were near, but from Poland, Germany, Leghorn, Venice, and several other places; and they received Sabatai's blessing and promises of great and glorious days. The Turks were pleased with so many people coming. They raised the price of provisions and lodgings, and put their price on those who wished to see Sabatai, for their admittance. Many of the Jews brought him rich presents, and Sabatai fared well.

He commanded the Jews to celebrate his birth day with feasting, illumination and music. He despatched ambassadors to various places to proclaim him the Messiah, and publish the miracles, which he pretended to have performed, and letters written by the Jews every where, were filled with the wonderful works of Sabatai Sevi, to give a few only as a specimen of the many. It was reported that when the Grand Seignior sent to take him, he caused those who were sent, to fall dead by a word of his mouth, and by request he brought them to life again; and that though the prison in which Sabatai lay, was barred and fastened with strong iron locks, yet he was seen to walk through the streets, and many with him, and the shackles which were upon his neck and feet were turned into gold, and the wonders and fame of Sabatai was spread every where. In the synagogues of the Jews, they had S. S. in large letters of gold. They applied the same titles and prophecies to him, which the christians apply to Jesus Christ. Sabatai was now on principle of honour and fame, almost as high as it was possible for any man to get. But every thing in this world, however highly exalted, splendid and great, not founded on *truth*, will sooner or later fall. It is only *truth* that abideth and endureth forever.

Sabatai had some enemies, who represented him to the Grand Seignior, (Turkish emperor,) that he was a lewd, and dangerous person to the government, and that it was necessary to take care of him. The grand seignior, being informed of this, sends for Sabatai to appear before him, and of him requires a miracle, and chooses one himself; which was, that Sabatai should be stripped naked, and set as a mark for his archers to shoot at; and if the arrows did not pierce his flesh, he would own him to be the Messiah.

Sabatai had not faith enough to bear up under so great a trial. The grand seignior let him know that his treason and other crimes could only be expiated by his embracing the Mahometan religion, and that if he refused, the stake was prepared ready to impale him, (which of all deaths is the most cruel.*) Sabatai replied, that he had long earnestly desired to own himself a convert to the true faith; and that he felt himself highly honoured, in making this profession in the presence of his sultan.

The news of Sebi having embraced the Mahometan religion, soon spread far and wide.

His deluded followers were filled with astonishment, grief and shame, and exposed to the contempt and derision of their enemies.

The Jews in Italy sent ambassadors to enquire into the truth of these reports, who upon their arrival, were mortified and astonished at the intelligence that their Messiah had embraced the Mahometan faith; but the brother of Sebi attempted to persuade them that it was only his apparition in a Turkish habit, that he had been translated to heaven; and that God would again send him down to earth, at his appointed season. Some were even so vain as to affirm that it was not Sabatai himself, but only his shadow or appearance that had

* It is by erecting a stake or spear, and hoisting the criminal on it, and entering of it at the bottom of the spine, and running of it through inside, and out at the back of the neck, keeping of it clear of the intestines, by which it is sometime before the sufferer dies.

embraced the Mahometan religion, and was seen in the habit of a Turk ; so great was their obstinacy and infidelity, as if it was a thing impossible to convince these deluded and infatuated creatures.

Sabatai Sevi, some time after he turned Mahometan, was beheaded by order of the grand seignior.

After his death, Daniel Israel, a Jew, who dwelt at Smyrna six or seven years, undertook to persuade the Jewish people that Sevi was yet alive and concealed, and that he would re-appear, according to the prophecy of Daniel, after the space of forty-five years. Some prodigies which he pretended to perform, astonished many of the Jews, and induced them to credit his assertions.

The denomination of Sabaites is given to the believers in Sabatai Sevi. The sect formed by his imposture survived him ; and there are actually yet, or was a few years ago, at Salonichi, some of his partizans, who all live together in a part of the city, and marry among themselves, who outwardly professing Mahometanism, but secretly observe the Mosaic rites, without communicating with the Mussulmen, except for the purpose of commerce.

A favourable change has taken place in the condition of the Jews in Europe, during the eighteenth and present century : but there has been little alteration in their state in the eastern countries, since the seventeenth century, when Basnage, from whom most of the preceding facts are taken, closed his history. He has computed that there were, at that time, one million of Jews in the grand seignior's empire, above eighty thousand of whom resided at Constantinople and Salonichi ; and that there were thirty synagogues in the former of these cities.

Though the Jews in the Turkish empire are held in detestation, they have rendered their services indispensable in conducting traffic, almost the whole of which, by means of the carelessness and laziness of the Turks, have fallen into the hands of the Jews.

The Jews in the Ottoman, or Turkish empire, pay a heavy tax, for the privilege of exercising their religion.

In Palestine, where the Turks and Arabs oppress the Jews, few are to be found. M. de Chateaubriand, a celebrated French writer, who visited Palestine in the year 1807, has given the following account of the miserable condition of the Jews who still reside in Jerusalem.

“ While Jerusalem is seen in the midst of the desert, you may observe, between Mount Zion and the Temple, another spectacle, of equal interest ; it is that of the remnants of a people, distinct from the rest of the inhabitants ; a people individually the objects of universal contempt, who suffer the most wanton outrages without a murmur, who endure wounds and blows without a sigh. Enter their habitations, and you find them in the most abject, squalid misery. What these wretched outlaws from the justice and compassion of the rest of mankind, did in past ages, they do still. Six times they have witnessed the destruction of Jerusalem,” (he means since first founded,) “ and are not yet discouraged. Nothing can operate to divert their looks from Zion. We are surprised, when we observe the Jews scattered over the face of the earth ; but, to experience and astonishment more lively, we have but to seek them in Jerusalem. The legitimate owners of Judea should be seen as they are in their own land, slaves and strangers : they should be seen awaiting, under the most cruel and oppressive of all despotism, a king who is to work their deliverance. Near the temple,” or where the ancient temple stood, “ there does not remain *one stone upon another*,” they still continue to dwell ; and, with the cross, as it were, planted upon their heads, and bending them to the earth, still cling to their errors, and labour under the same deplorable infatuation.”

The Jews settled in China some time before Christ, probably one hundred years ; they not only increased in number and wealth, but were distin-

guished for literature, and raised to offices, being governors of provinces, and mandarins. By degrees their affairs began to decline, and many embraced the Mahometan religion.

In 1704, father Gozani, a Jewish missionary, had the curiosity to investigate the state of the Jews in the China empire. To effect this purpose, he contracted an acquaintance with some of the learned chiefs. They showed him one of their volumes, or parchment rolls of Pentateuch, (the five books of Moses,) written in Hebrew, in fair and plain characters, and also other parts of the Old Testament.

They informed Gozani, that they divided the five books of Moses into fifty-two lessons, one for every day throughout the year.

The Chinese Jews strictly observe the Sabbath, and do not so much as kindle any fire, or cook any food on that day. They also observe circumcision, and several other ceremonies mentioned in the Old Testament.

The Jews informed Gozani that their ancestors came from the west, from the kingdom of Judea, which Joshua conquered after they left Egypt; had crossed the Red Sea; traversed the desert; and that the number of Jews who left Egypt amounted to six hundred thousand. They also gave him to understand that they had formerly been numerous in the empire, but were then reduced to only seven families. They form alliances with each other, and never connect themselves with the other inhabitants of China.

When father Gozani spake to them of the Messiah, promised and declared in the holy scriptures, they were greatly astonished. But when the missionary informed them that the Messiah had already appeared, and was called Jesus Christ, they replied, that they had heard of a holy man named Jesus, who was the son of Si-roch, but they were entirely ignorant of the new Jesus, of which he informed them. They had not any knowledge of several of the books of the Old Testament.

“The Jews,” says Dr. Buchanan, “are numerous in India, and reside in a town about a mile distant from Cochin, called Jews Town. It was almost wholly inhabited by this people, who have two respectable synagogues. Among them are some very intelligent men, who are not ignorant of the present history of nations. There are also Jews here, from remote parts of Asia, so that this is the fountain of intelligence concerning that people in the east.

The following is an account which they gave him, relating to their arrival, or why they came, in this country, which had been handed down to them by tradition. “After the temple was destroyed by the Roman emperor, our fathers dreading the conqueror’s wrath, a numerous body of men, women, children, priests and Levites, departed from Jerusalem, and came into this land. There were among them, men of repute for learning and wisdom, and God gave the people favour in the sight of the king, who, at that time reigned here, and he granted them a place to dwell, called Craganor. He allowed them many privileges, and a royal grant was engraven, according to the custom of those days, on a plate of brass. This was done in the year from the creation of the world, 4250, and this plate of brass we still have in possession.

Soon after our settlement, other Jews followed us from Judea, and among these came that man of great wisdom, Rabbi Samuel, a Levite of Jerusalem, with his son Rabbi Jehuda Levita. They brought with them the silver trumpets, made use of at the time of the Jubilee, which were saved when the second temple was destroyed. There joined us also from Spain, and other places, from time to time, certain tribes of Jews, who had heard of our prosperity.” But now commences a sad reverse. “But at last, discord arising among us, one of our chiefs called to his assistance an Indian king, who came upon us with a great army, destroyed our houses, palaces, and strong holds, dispossessed us of Craganor, killed part of us, and carried part into cap-

tivity. By this massacre we were reduced to a small number. Some of the exiles came and dwelt at Cochin, where we have remained ever since, suffering great changes from time to time. There are among us some of the children of Israel, (Benni Israel,) who came from the country of Ashhenaz, from Egypt, from Isoba, and other places, besides those who formerly inhabited this country.

The native annals of Malabar confirm the foregoing account in the principal circumstances, as also the Mahometan histories in latter ages. The desolation of Craganer, the Jews describe as being similar to that of Jerusalem. In this last account we see the effect of peace. As long as they lived in peace they were prosperous and a happy people, and to this place of peace many from different places were glad to resort. "But as soon as discord takes place the scene is changed, and by entering into war they become a ruined people, which has almost always been the case since the time of David and Solomon. In very few instances have they bettered themselves by a war, and indeed it is much the same with all other nations. More or less ruin always attends war on both sides, besides the loss of lives. We might suppose that from the past, having so many examples of its dire effects, the nations of the earth would begin to learn wisdom; particularly those who profess the christian religion, for there is nothing more contrary to the gospel of Christ and to the happiness of mankind than quarrelling, war and fighting; of which this history affords abundant proof.

CHAPTER XVII.

The state of the Jews in Spain, in the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries.

AT the commencement of the thirteenth century, the bishop of Toledo perceiving the Jews to increase in number and wealth, excited the populace against them, and putting himself at their head, entered and plundered their houses and synagogues. The crusades, who soon after assembled near Toledo completed the work of destruction, which the bigoted bishop had begun. They prescribed no limits to their cruelty; but made such havoc and carnage among the Jews, that Abravanel, a celebrated Jewish writer, asserted it caused a greater number to leave Spain, than Moses conducted out of Egypt. The Spanish nobles endeavoured to interpose their authority, and to suppress these cruelties. But Ferdinand, who then possessed the sovereign power, and wished to gain the favour of the people, by the extirpation of the Albigenses and other sects, encouraged and promoted the persecution.

During the reign of James I. king of Arragon, (A. D. 1264,) great efforts were made to convert the Jews. Raymond, confessor to the king, used every means he could devise, to effect this purpose. He suppressed the violence of the people, against them, and persuaded the king that mildness and instruction were the most likely means to induce them to embrace christianity. Agreeable to this benevolent plan, several of the Dominican Friars, were chosen to learn the Hebrew and Arabic languages, and directed to apply themselves to the study of the scriptures, that they might be enabled to dispute with the Jewish Rabbi's, in order to convince them of their errors. These attempts, as they always have been very unsuccessful.

Alphonso the X. king of Castile, a celebrated astronomer, encouraged and promoted learned men of all de-

nominations. Many learned men appeared among the Jews during his patronage. Though the Jews were hated and despised by the common people and by the ignorant among the clergy, they were at this time, and at many other times and places, respected and encouraged by the wise and the learned. The truth is, the learned may despise, hate and persecute, but the *wise* and the learned never did, neither Jew nor Gentile. Alphonso being assisted by some learned Jews in compiling some astronomical tables, and by thus being familiar and friendly with them, excited the jealousy and ill will of the ignorant populace towards the Jews; in consequence of which they formed plots and accusations against them. Thus we see the trying condition of the poor Jews, it was even dangerous to them, for any one to befriend them. They suffered by being friendless, and often suffered by being befriended. At this time their enemies knowing of no way to punish them, for the kindness and friendship they received; at length fell upon the following. They persuaded three villains, of the city of Orsana, in Andalusia, to throw the dead body of a man into the house of a Jew, and then accused him of the murder; and any thing against a Jew, however improbable, being readily believed, the popular ferment and hatred were roused; a great number of the Jews were cruelly murdered, and others fled for refuge, to the houses of christians, who were their friends and acquaintance.

The inhabitants of Palina, not far from Orsana, (before mentioned) also rose upon the Jews and destroyed many. Upon which the Jews sent a deputation to court to obtain orders to suppress a massacre that was like to prove general. Their enemies sent the same also on their part; and the aggressors and aggrieved accused each other, and pleaded their cause before the Spanish monarchs, when the Jews were acquitted of the pretended murder. But the most terrible calamity which they suffered at this time, was by the multitude of enthusiastical persons, called shepherds, who as already stated,

committed great ravages in France. Having become numerous and powerful, they entered Spain, and carried fire and sword into several provinces. The Jews were the greatest sufferers. Many saved their lives by surrendering their property, and renouncing their religion. Those who would not make these sacrifices, were instantly put to death. A pestilence arose in the army of the shepherds, which extended through the neighbouring countries. This was charged to the Jews, for they must bear the blame of every thing. They were accused of having bribed the peasants of Mesura to poison the waters, and having furnished them with the poison for that purpose, which was, as was said, the cause of the pestilence, and on the grounds of this false and wicked allegation, a great number of them were imprisoned and tried. After a long confinement, they cleared themselves of the crimes imputed to them; but the king, who was unwilling to confess the injustice of which he had been guilty towards them, pretended that he had kept them in prison, for the purpose of converting them to christianity. The Jews, therefore, refusing to be baptized in the christian (their anti-christian faith,) they burned and otherwise cruelly put to death, to the number of fifteen thousand!! which is almost too much to believe. Can it be possible that their enemies were so cruel!! and yet professed to be christians—professed to believe in the mild and tender gospel of Christ,* that teaches to love and be kind to all. Their conduct is most astonishing! I have had involuntary thoughts several times since I have been writing this history of their dispersion, that *the Jews have suffered enough*; but so far from that, I have much more yet to

* I would here just remind the reader that the very first promulgation of the gospel, was "*on earth peace, and good will to men.*" What could be better, and easier to be understood. Supposing it had, at some period of time, been proposed to this world, or to all the wise and good, to make their choice of a blessing, that if put in practice, would be most to the happiness of mankind in this world, and also in another. What better could have been chosen? or what can we conceive of better?—*On earth peace*—peace one with another, and with God—and *good will toward men*,—that of God, and one towards another. The truth is, it would make a heaven on earth—no greater blessing could have been asked.

write, and undoubtedly they have suffered a great deal that has never been written. Why it is so, we must leave it to God, who must, or certainly does order, or permit all things for the best. The reader will excuse this little digression, if he imputes it to feelings, which, I think, all should cherish, towards those, our long afflicted fellow creatures.

Olphanso XI. king of Castile, the friend and protector of the Jewish people, was prevailed on by his mutinous, and discontented subjects, to pass a decree against them, on account of a pretended indignity offered to the sacrament by a Jewish boy. It was deliberated in council whether they should be put to death, or banished, and, the latter measure being preferred, they were commanded to depart the kingdom in three months. The prince royal, however, obtained a revisal or re-consideration of the trial: it was then found that the supposed crime had inadvertently been committed by a christian boy. On this deposition, the king recalled his edict. But this did not prevent the fury and resentments of the zealots against them; in another town, many of them were put to death for the pretended offence.

In 1396, Martin, archdeacon of Astigi, preached through the streets of Seville and Cordova against them, which exasperated the minds of the people so against the Jews, that they killed them in both places. The persecution spread to Toledo, Valencia, and Barcelona, where some were plundered, and others murdered; the most artful and crafty made profession of christianity in order to escape such acts of violence. The synagogues of Seville and Cordova became almost deserted. The inhabitants of Andalusia, and of other provinces, seized and put to death all who retired thither. King John treated the Jews with great cruelty. During his reign, many perished by being deprived of the necessaries of life; and those who had survived were compelled to wear a red mark of distinction.

At the commencement of the fifteenth century, the anti-pope, Benedict XIII., distinguished himself by his zeal for the conversion of the Jews. To effect this purpose, he summoned the most celebrated Rabbi's in Spain to attend a conference, which he appointed for religious disputes between them and the christians. Jerome Sancta, who had forsaken the synagogue, and professed to embrace christianity, persuaded the pope to take this step, by assuring him that he could convince his brethren by passages out of the Talmud, that Jesus Christ was the true Messiah. This convert was not only the chief promoter, but the principal conductor of the dispute. Rabbi Vidal was chosen to defend the Jewish religion. The Jews, at this time, shewed uncommon respect for the pope, who entertained them with politeness, and defrayed their expenses. But they treated Jerome with disgust, as they were embittered against him, both for forsaking the synagogue, and bringing them into a dispute, from which they feared fatal consequences. The conferences produced no effect on the disputants of either party.

Vincent Fervier had been canonized in the year 1413 for his miracles, and zeal for converting the Jews. It is calculated by christian writers, that the number he induced to forsake the Jewish religion, amounted to twenty-five thousand. According to the Jewish accounts a greater number deserted the synagogues. But whatever might be the number of Jewish converts, their sincerity was very much disputed, and not without sufficient reason; for it is evident that they yielded only to necessity, and merely to avoid harsh and cruel treatment. For though in outward appearance they professed christianity, they secretly circumcised their children, observed the passover, and neglected none of the Jewish rites and ceremonies.

This dissimulation did not escape the notice of the clergy, nor remain long unpunished; they acquainted the Spanish monarch and the pope with the conduct of the converted Jews, upon which the tribunal, or officers

of the inquisition* were commanded to pay close attention to the behaviour of these pretended converts. And all professed christian princes were requested to assist in bringing them to punishment.

This decree that was proclaimed in most parts of Spain filled the poor Jews, as well it might, with such dread and consternation, that seventeen thousand very soon professed the established religion, but not before two thousand of this oppressed and unfortunate people were burned alive, notwithstanding most of them, (to save their lives,) acknowledged that Jesus was the true Messiah. Many were imprisoned, and languished long in confinement; and after regaining their liberty, were ordered to wear two red crosses on their upper garments. The inveterate malice of their enemies extended even to the dead Jews. Many of their bodies were taken out of their graves, and burned, and their children were not allowed to possess the property of their parents, but it was confiscated.

Ferdinand and Isabella issued a severe and dreadful edict against the Jews, in 1492, commanding them either to embrace christianity or leave the kingdom in four months, and the people were forbidden, under the severest penalties from affording them provisions, or any thing to eat or drink, or any assistance whatever to such as should be found in the kingdom after the expiration of that time. Their attachment to the law of Moses was superior to every other consideration. And

* Though queen Isabella did, apparently, a good deed in fitting out Columbus for the discovery of America, but she, with her husband Ferdinand, did as bad a one in introducing the abominable, wicked and cruel inquisition in Spain, which it is said was intended to prevent the relapses of the Jews and Moors, who had been, or pretended to be converted to the faith of the church of Rome. In which inquisition, not only Jews, but those christians called heretics, (that if any christians it was they who were so,) have suffered enough to make one's blood run cold to read. They were called, and punished as heretics, because they, with the Jews, were separate from, and did not believe the church of Rome, to be a real christian church. And heretics because they testified against the church of Rome, as truly an ungodly and anti-christian church: for which they suffered, as above mentioned, not only in Spain, but in every other place where the inquisition has been established.

historians inform us that seventy thousand Jewish families, or eight hundred thousand quitted Spain, but the Jewish writers make them amount to a much greater number.

The misery and sufferings of those who thus embarked to foreign countries were inexpressible and almost inconceivable : It so happened that some of the vessels took fire, many were cast away and wrecked on foreign coasts, and many were drowned, and great numbers perished with cold and hunger. One of the Spanish pilots formed the wicked resolution, with the aid of the sailors, of murdering all the Jews in his vessel, in order, as he pretended, to avenge the death of Christ, whom their ancestors had crucified. The Jews represented to them truly "that Christ, who died for the redemption of mankind, did not desire the death but the salvation of the sinner."

This having some effect upon the sailors, they concluded not to murder them, but still plundered them, and landed them on the next shore they arrived at, and the place being uninhabited, (oh what cruelty ! !) part of them perished with hunger, and having no weapons of defence many were devoured by lions, as it was on the coast of Africa where lions abounded.

Those who still remained alive were saved by the humanity of the master of a vessel, who, having pity on their miserable condition, took them on board (for which act of kindness though they were not able to pay him, he will, according to the promise in the thirty-six and following verses of the twenty-fifth chapter of St. Matthew, have his reward. And all will be well paid for all the good they do to their fellow creatures, whereas those who injure, punish or afflict their fellow creature, or creatures in any way or manner as they, the wicked people in that day did the Jews, may expect sooner or later, nothing but remorse and condemnation.)

And to add to the calamities of the poor Jews, those who reached the city Fez, in Africa, were refused admittance by the unfeeling inhabitants, and were starved

for want of provision. When those who sailed for Italy arrived at Geneva, they found the city afflicted with a famine which had greatly increased the price on all kinds of provisions. The inhabitants seeing them almost starved, and in a miserable condition on account of the suffering they had endured, and destitute of money to purchase food, met them with the cross in one hand and bread in the other ; but refused to give food to any who would not first consent to reverence the cross, (not the cross of Christ.) Many of these suffering people who had been banished their former place of residence, and wealth for religion, were unable to refuse this second temptation.

The wicked tyrannical manner in which the bigotry and avarice of king Ferdinand influenced him to treat the Jews, was highly condemned in that day by all considerate and serious people. Many of the wealthy Jews as soon as they received information of their intended banishment, had found means to convey, unbeknown to the king, the most valuable part of their property, into the countries where they intended to go, in consequence of which the monarch gained but little by their expulsion. And much complaint there was, by the Spanish nobility, and others, that their cities and towns were almost depopulated.

Many of the Jews sought a nearer asylum into Portugal. John II., the sovereign of that kingdom, had formerly sent some of the Jews to make discoveries on the coasts of the Red Sea ; and they had also assisted the adventurers of the Portuguese in the discovery of the East Indies. Notwithstanding these important services, the king consented to receive them only on condition that each one should pay him eight gold ducats, (about two dollars and six cents our money,) and quit his dominions at a limited time, or forfeit their liberty. On his part, he engaged, when the time fixed for their departure had arrived, to furnish vessels to transport them to any place where they then should choose to go. At the time the king was willing to fulfil his engagements, but a few

who left Portugal, were treated in such a barbarous manner by the sailors, that many chose to remain in the kingdom, and be sold as slaves, rather than expose themselves to the sufferings and dangers of another voyage.

His son Emanuel, and successor, appeared at first to have some pity on them, and restored them their liberty, but it was of short duration ; the king having conceived a fondness for the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, the queen declared that she would not acknowledge a son-in-law who permitted the enemies of God to remain in his dominions, and, though not greater enemies to God than she and her husband were, he for the sake of the daughter, issued an edict which expelled the Jews from Portugal, and appointed a day on which those who remained should be deprived of their liberty.

When the appointed time arrived, the king very much disliked the idea of banishing such multitudes of people, and resolved to effect their conversion if possible, their children at least. He had engaged that ships should be provided for their embarkation, at three different ports, but afterwards he issued a proclamation, forbidding them to embark any where but at Lisbon.—When they arrived in this city, he ordered all the children, under fourteen years of age, to be forcibly taken from their parents, in order to be educated in their, worse if possible than anti-christian faith. The execution of this barbarous, and of all things the most wicked and cruel command, was attended, as might be expected, with the most affecting circumstances, enough to melt the heart of the king, especially that of a woman, the queen Isabella into tenderness, if their hearts had not been harder than the hardest diamond. Many of those poor afflicted people, afflicted now more than they could bear, and in phrensy and despair, first killed their children and then themselves. The wicked king had invented so many delays to retard their departure, that many remained in the kingdom, and were sold as slaves. Overwhelmed with these complicated afflic-

tions, they finally consented to become hypocrites, and make a profession of the religion of their enemies.— And by so doing they recovered their liberty and their children. The sincerity of these converts was, however, much suspected; and on the least discovery being made of their practising the Mosaic religion, subjected them to that which was worse than all, the cruelties of the merciless inquisition.

Notwithstanding the injustice and cruelties which the Jews had received in Spain, they were no sooner informed that Charles the Fifth had ascended the throne, than they endeavoured to procure a re-settlement in that kingdom. For this purpose they commissioned some of the most eminent of their nation to represent to this monarch, that they had conducted with honour the whole commerce of the nation, and were the most useful subjects in the kingdom; therefore they were induced to hope he would allow them the free exercise of their religion, if he would admit them on this condition they promised to present him with 800,000 crowns of gold.

Charles was disposed to return a favourable answer to this petition; but cardinal Ximenes exerted all his influence to persuade the king from permitting their return. He asserted that, “those who rejected Christ from reigning over them, were unworthy the protection of christian princes.” In consequence Charles rejected the petition of the Jews.

After the Portuguese had relieved themselves from the government of Spain, in the reign of Philip IV., the archbishop of Braga, who wholly devoted to the Spanish monarch, conspired against his sovereign, the king of Portugal; and engaged a vast number of Jews to assist him in his design. They had long resided at Lisbon, in the outward profession of the, (or rather their,) christian faith; and had lately offered the king of Portugal a large sum of money, if he would clear them from being subject to the inquisition, and suffer them to possess synagogues in Lisbon. The refusal of

this reasonable request filled them with surprise and resentment, and as their presenting this petition had exposed them to the cruelty of the inquisition.

The archbishop of Braga, promised them, that if they would aid in effecting the restoration of the kingdom to Philip, they should be allowed the free liberty of their religion. The part appointed for them was to set fire to the palace and several houses in the city and suburbs ; and that while the people were engaged in putting out the fire, the conspirators might assassinate the king. The grand inquisitor was also engaged in the plot against the government ; and this was, the first and only time that the inquisition and Jews acted in concert. This contemplated revolution, however, was not effected. Baeze, a rich Jewish merchant, being put to the rack, confessed the treacherous design.

The Jews strove various ways both by legal and illegal attempts to obtain a toleration in Spain, but all proving abortive, they continued to screen themselves from persecution by professing christianity, while in secret they performed the Mosaic rites. The law of Moses was still privately transmitted from father to son. The watchfulness and diligence of the officers of the inquisition, and the torture and murder of so many of the Jews, caused them to be the more careful not to get into their cruel clutches. Many who could no longer bear to continue deceitful in outwardly professing a religion in which they did not believe, quitted the country, and the greatest part settled in England and Holland.

Many still remained in Spain and Portugal, outwardly good catholics, (and as good christians as the catholics were,) but inwardly Israelites. Many have filled the sacred departments of the Roman priesthood, by pretending to an uncommon zeal for a religion which they inwardly detest, have generally passed unsuspected.—It has been said when a house is found to abound with images, relics, and lamps, and the owner noted for being the most enthusiastic devotee in the parish, it is no proof

he is not an Israelite at heart. These facts are particularly recorded on the testimony of Balthazar Orobio, a celebrated Jew, who assumed the mask of christianity, and outwardly conformed to the Roman Catholic religion. He was distinguished for his talents and learning, and applying himself to the study of physick, he practised the healing art at Seville, with reputation and success.

After some time he was suspected of being a Jew at heart, and was suddenly seized and thrown into the inquisition, which has been called a complete hell on earth, in which Orobio suffered, as many Jews had before and since, such exquisite torments from those cruel wretches, (I was going to say devils) that dwelt in it, that he began to be deranged, when they ceased their torture, but kept him miserably confined three years before they let him go.

As soon as he obtained his liberty, he quitted the Spanish dominions, and going to France, was made professor of physick at Toulouse, he continued in this city some time, still outwardly professing the Roman catholic religion. But detesting further dissimulation, he repaired to Amsterdam, where he professed Judaism.* He continued to practice physic, and was highly esteemed in his profession. In Holland he held a famous dispute with Philip Limborch, a celebrated protestant clergyman, concerning the truth of the christian religion. This dispute was published. It was conducted with moderation on both sides. But the learned divine, Limborch, was not able to convince Orobio. He continued in Holland till the time of his death, which took place in 1687.

Orobio declares in the strongest terms, the great number of the dissemblers, and that they exist among the principal men and clergy in Spain; and relates, that many of those who professed christianity, even monks

* Among all the conversions of the Jews to christianity, it is a matter of doubt whether there has been one sincere and real conversion yet, or at most but very few.

and jesuits, came yearly to Amsterdam, to confess and make some satisfaction for their dissimulation.

The Spanish and Portuguese Jews claim their descent from the tribe of Judah. In consequence of this supposed superiority, they have not till lately married or in any way, incorporated with their brethren of other nations; they had separate synagogues; and if a Portuguese Jew, even in England or Holland, married a German Jewess he was immediately expelled from the synagogue.

In Portugal, the name of Jew, or the word Jew is a term of such high reproach, that the government found it necessary to pass a law, to forbid any person calling another by that appellation.



CHAPTER XVIII.

Of the state of the Jews in Germany and its vicinity, from the 13th to the 19th century.

WHETHER the Jews really committed great or more numerous offences in Germany, or the people were more superstitiously zealous against them, than in other countries, there is scarcely a kingdom in which they have been accused of more enormous crimes.

The first instance occurred at Hagenau, where three children were found dead in a Jewish house. Complaint being made to the emperor, Frederick the Second, who not believing the story, indifferently replied, "that since the children were dead they must be buried." His unbelief enraged the people, but as they could not prove the alleged crime, the Jews, upon paying a pretty large sum, for peace sake, obtained a favourable judgment from the emperor.

At Munich in Bavaria, an old woman having confessed that she sold a child to the Jews, whom they crucified, the people without waiting the event of a trial, put

all the Jews to death they could find. The officers in the town having, in vain, attempted to suppress the tumult, advised the Jews to retire into their synagogue, which was a strong stone building. This advice they followed; but notwithstanding the great efforts of the duke and the officers to appease and disperse the populace, they were all burned and destroyed in it.* An accusation of a similar nature was urged against the Jews of Wurtzburgh and Bern where they were put to death in the same manner.

The Jews flourished in Lithuania during the thirteenth century. King Boleslaus granted them liberty of conscience, and other privileges, which were continued under his successors. Their prosperity excited the envy of the populace, who endeavoured to disturb their peace, and blast their reputation. It was observed, in the council of Vienna, which was convened in the year 1267, that they were become so numerous and powerful that the income of the clergy was considerably diminished; it was, therefore, ordained that they should contribute to the support of the clergy, in proportion to what they would have paid had their families been christians. The council also enacted, that they should be compelled to pull down their new superb synagogues which they had erected, and be satisfied with their former places of worship. The German princes and nobles protected those who refused to obey; but the clergy

* We often read of great destruction not only of property but of lives, and some may think how it could be, when not done by order of government. But we often read of the populace, the rabble, the mob; composed of the common ignorant people, who are far the greatest number in every country,—the swinish multitude as a certain writer calls them; who are not influenced by reason, being but a link, above the brute creation, and governed, like the beasts, by their passions; and therefore it is in vain to reason with them, (of which we have had abundant proof in this history,) and can only, like the beasts, be governed by compulsion, or force, and therefore have often made terrible havoc, before government (which is generally composed, or should be, of the most considerate and wise of every nation) could subdue them. And sometimes we read that government has been too weak to controul them. The populace—the rabble get in a rage, by a little spark, just like fire among dry leaves and vegetables in the woods, and before the fire can be subdued, many a stately and valuable tree, like men among mankind, with other valuable things become destroyed.

excommunicated all who favoured or defended the Jews.

Previously to this time, the Jews had been compelled, when called upon as witnesses, to swear by the saints, by the blessed Mary, or by the Son of God. But as they had no scruple to violate these oaths, they were by a new regulation made at Augsburgh, to swear by the name of God, and law of Moses.

In about 1264, a fanatical peasant named Rainer Fleisch, commenced itinerant, or travelling preacher in the upper Palatinate, Franconia, and other provinces. He pretended that God had sent him to exterminate the Jews; and, in order to exasperate the people against them, he asserted, that they had stolen a consecrated host. The credulous multitude immediately seized upon those in Nuremburg, Rottenburg, and several other towns in Franconia and Bavaria, and put them to death. (It seems that any little trifle, or foolish lie would set the people against the poor Jews.) Others chose to destroy themselves, with their wives, children and effects rather than be thrown into the flames by the pretended christians. The persecution was at length stopped and the city of Nuremburg was half consumed by fire which the Jews had set to their own houses.

The flagellants, or whippers,* supposed that mur-

* Which was a sect of wild fanatics, who chastised themselves with whips in public. This sect arose in Italy, in the year 1260, its author was one Rainer, a hermit; and it was propagated through almost all the countries of Europe. A great number of persons of all ages and sexes, made processions, walking two by two, with their shoulders bare, which they whipped till the blood ran down, in order to obtain mercy from God, and appease his indignation against the wickedness of the age. Though the primitive whippers were exemplary in point of morals, yet in process of time, they were joined by a turbulent rabble, who held to the most ridiculous and impious opinions, so that the emperors and pontiffs thought proper to put an end to this religious frenzy, by declaring all devout whipping contrary to the divine law, and prejudicial to the soul's eternal interest. However, this sect revived in Germany towards the middle of the next century, and rambling through many provinces, occasioned great disturbances. They held, among other things, that whipping was of equal value with baptism and the other sacraments; that the forgiveness of all sins was to be obtained by it from God, without the merits of Jesus Christ; that the old law of Christ was soon to be abolished, and that a new law, enjoining the baptism of blood to be administered by whipping was to be substituted.

dering the enemies of Christ, would render their penance more acceptable. Accordingly they plundered and burnt the poor Jews at Spires, Strasburg, and Thuringen. But after committing some outrages at Frankfort, they agreed to an accommodation. A Jew, named Cicogne, whose family in that city was very numerous, he being dissatisfied with the compromise, or accommodation they had made, in a passion threw fire into the town house, which consumed the buildings. The flames spread to the cathedral, which was reduced to ashes. This crime was severely punished, for not only the perpetrator, but nearly all his brethren, the Jews, in Frankfort, were put to death.

In the course of the same year, the Jews were accused, again, of poisoning the springs and wells. They were suspected of this crime, from no other foundation, than that they had escaped the common mortality, called the plague, which took place in most parts of Europe. A new massacre commenced in several provinces of Germany, in which some were burned, and others in various ways slaughtered. Those in Mentz resolved to defend themselves, and the very first step they took was the very way to work their own destruction; for they seized upon two hundred of the unarmed, of those called christians, and barbarously put them to death. This had that effect, as they might have been sure it would. The incensed populace collected, and attacked and killed twelve thousand Jews; they next set fire to their houses. The persecution extended over all Germany. In the imperial cities all the houses of the Jews were destroyed. Robert, the reigning person in Pa-

in its place : upon which Clement VII. by an injudicious, as well as unrighteous policy, thundered out anathemas against the Whippers, who were burnt by the inquisitors in several places. But persecution, instead of weakening, strengthens, even the greatest absurdities.

They appeared again in Lower Saxony and other places, in the fifteenth century, and rejected not only the sacraments, but every branch of external worship; and placed their only hopes of salvation in faith and whipping. Their leader, and many others, were committed to the flames by German inquisitors, in and after the year 1414. For the singularity of this sect, I have given this account of them, which I presume will be acceptable to some readers.

lestine, and his ministers, endeavoured, in vain, to suppress the violence, and to protect the Jews; but they were opposed by the populace, and charged with accepting bribes to defend them. All the inhabitants of Ulm, together with their property, were burned; and in short, the whole Hebrew nation, in those parts, was at this time without friends, and no one dared, at so critical a time, to interfere in their behalf. (See note, page 181.)

Those Jews who had fled to Bohemia, were no better treated than their brethren in Germany. Winceslaus, the emperor, and king of Bohemia, desirous of ingratiating himself with his subjects, discharged the nobility, and others from the debts which they owed to the Jews. The populace therefore considering them as discarded by the king, fell upon them at Gotha, and sorrowful to relate, a terrible carnage ensued. The Jews of Spires, without any difference made of age, sex, or condition, were all put to death by the sword, except a few children, that were hurried to the font to be baptized. As a little screen for their cruelty, and that likely a lie, it was said that they insulted a priest as he was carrying the sacrament to a sick person.

The citizens of Prague, offended at seeing them celebrate their passover, chose that time to burn their synagogue, and those who were in it, while engaged in devotional exercise. This inhuman deed was executed without any opposition, and not one of them escaped!!

They were again accused of poisoning the waters, the rivers, and springs, and punished for this pretended crime, with the most severe and cruel torments. The persecution was not confined to Germany, but extended to Italy, Provence, and other places. The Jewish historians assert, that the emperor was convinced of their innocence, and represented to his council that it was impossible for them to be guilty of this crime, as the rivers and springs, which are always in motion, cannot be contaminated with poison. But the ignorant and wicked populace was so exasperated against them, that

the emperor, to preserve them from more dreadful calamities, advised them to quit the country, or be baptized. The Jewish writers state, that but few at this time were induced to forsake their religion, or as they expressed it, "to forsake the glory of their God."

The council of Basil, in 1434, commanded the prelates, in all the places where there were Jews, to appoint learned divines to preach to them; and oblige them under the severest penalties to attend the sermons.— (Force never did any good in religion; it is above all things in this world, that which must be every person's own free choice :) at the same time, those called christians, were forbidden to have any free conversation with them; or employing them as servants, farmers, nurses, or physicians. They were not permitted to trade in houses near any church, or in the inside of any city: and they were forced to wear a particular habit to distinguish them from all other people.

It was determined by the Lutheran leaders at Wirtemberg and Rostock, that christians, when sick, should not call in a Jewish physician, because they employed, as was foolishly thought, magical remedies; and, since the curse has been pronounced against this people, they ought not to administer medicine to the christians, who are the children of God.

During the eighteenth century, the condition of the Jews in Germany and other parts of the continent, has been much more comfortable.

Joseph II., emperor of Germany, in 1781, conferred many privileges upon the Jews. He granted them the right of exercising all the arts and trades, of following agriculture, and freely pursuing their studies at the schools and universities.

The successor of Joseph the second also granted them many privileges.

In the states of the king of Prussia not long since, were much harassed by unwise regulations. The father of a Jewish family could not marry but one of his sons; rarely could he obtain permission to marry

a second, and all the others were condemned to celibacy. Each Jew, who took a wife, was obliged to purchase a certain quantity of porcelain, the refuse of the royal manufactory. These regulations were abolished in 1809.

It is but doing justice to the Jews to acknowledge, that the learning and liberality of mind manifested by several of their nation, have paved the way for the steps that have been taken in their favour. Among those who have promoted the learned improvements, and raised the reputation of their brethren, Moses Mendelssohn, was eminently distinguished. In addition to several works of science, he composed several philosophical books on the works and operations of nature, for the improvement of the children of his neglected nation. He died in 1785.

About the close of the eighteenth century, several schools for the instruction of the Jews were established in several cities in Germany. In other parts of Europe, as well as Germany and Prussia, the Jews appear to be making improvements in literature; and their exertions have been encouraged, and their condition rendered much more comfortable in several kingdoms. They were formerly excluded from Russia; but are now actually numerous.

The Jews have also obtained privileges in Sweden. In Denmark, where they have had sufficient liberty, there are many distinguished characters; and their education is improving. In 1803, an establishment was formed in Copenhagen, for the instruction of the Jewish youth, and in 1806, this establishment was in a flourishing condition.

CHAPTER XIX.

Of the Jews in Ethiopia, Abyssinia, Egypt, Oran, Morocco, and other parts of Africa.

THE Jews have enjoyed more tranquillity in Ethiopia than in most other countries, on account of a conformity between some of their customs, and those of the professed christian inhabitants. Both are circumcised; and abstain from swine's flesh; and observe Saturday for the Sabbath. The kings of Ethiopia boast of being descended from the Jewish monarchs; and bear for their arms a lion holding a cross, with this motto: "The lion of the tribe of Judea."

When Bruce, a traveller, was in Abyssinia about 1771, the Jews were calculated to the amount of one hundred thousand men, exclusive of women and children. They have lost their Hebrew, and only speak the language their ancestors learned in the country where they settled. They assert, that the sceptre has never departed from Judah; and apply the prophecy of the gathering of the Gentiles to the future appearance of the Messiah.

The Jews for many ages have found an abode in Egypt. The liberty which they have long enjoyed in that country, has rendered them numerous and powerful, particularly at Cairo, most of whom were rich merchants in 1673. They had thirty synagogues in this place.

They have been long settled at Oran, and were entrusted with some of the most honourable and profitable offices in that city. In the province of Suz, they were also numerous and flourishing. In the capital they had an elegant synagogue.

They have been, and still are, very numerous in all parts of Morocco, and are tributary to the emperor. The lowest class among the Moors imagine they have a right to oppress and insult the Jews, who suffer the

greatest ill treatment with a patience they have acquired by being daily abused. They have not courage to defend themselves, because the Koran and judge are always in favour of the Mahometans.

Their superior knowledge and address give them, however, many advantages over the ignorant Moors. More industrious, as well as better informed, than the Mahometans, they are employed by the emperor, in many lucrative and honourable occupations. They have, (and always have had,) sufficient art to enrich themselves by every resource in their power, and find means to console themselves for the abuse they are obliged to suffer.

The Jews in most parts of the empire, live separate from the Moors; and, though oppressed in other respects, are allowed the free exercise of their religion. Notwithstanding, many of them, in order to avoid the arbitrary treatment to which they are continually exposed, have, for peace sake, professed the Mahometan faith. Upon their renouncing Judaism, they are admitted to all the privileges of the Moors.

The Jewish synagogues having been destroyed in the kingdom of Fez, Muley Mahomet, when he ascended the throne, not only caused them to be rebuilt, but made one of the Jews his high treasurer, and prime minister. The Jews, however, have frequently suffered from the tyranny and caprice of the arbitrary and unrighteous sovereigns of Morocco. Sidi Mahomet, the emperor, having imposed a heavy tax on his son, Muley, commanded him to collect of the Jews the sum he required, "who not being" as he said, "in the road to salvation, deserved no favour." The prince offered his father the revenues of his government, and earnestly intreated him not to oppress the Jews, and to add to wretchedness already too great.

Muley Ishmael, ingenious in finding excuses for plundering his subjects, assembled the Jews, and thus addressed them: "Dogs as you are, I have sent for you to oblige you to turn Mahometans. I have long been

amused with an idle tale respecting the coming of the Messiah. For my part I believe he has come already; therefore, if you do not fix the precise time in which he is to appear, I will leave you neither property nor life. I will be trifled with no longer."

The Jews, terrified at this address, represented the punctuality with which they had paid the enormous taxes imposed upon them. They requested a week to prepare an answer, which was granted, and in the mean time they collected a large sum of money to present to the emperor, and informed him that their doctors had concluded that the Messiah would appear in thirty years. "Yes," replied the emperor, "I understand you, dogs and decievers as you are; you think to hush my immediate wrath, in the hopes that I shall not then be alive; but I will live to show the world that you are impostors, and punish you as you deserve."

Even in the midst of Africa, this dispersed people are to be found, agreeable to the ancient predictions of Moses and other prophets respecting them. At Sansanding, eight hundred miles east from the Atlantic Ocean, Park, a noted traveller, discovered some of the descendants of Israel. "The Jews," he observes, "in dress and appearance, very much resemble the Arabs. But though they so far conform to the religion of Mahomet as to repeat public prayers from the Koran, they are but little respected by the negroes; and even the Moors themselves," says our traveller, "allowed, that though I was a christian, I was a better man than a Jew."

The conduct of professed christians having been such, that there is no character so detestable, particularly in some parts of Africa, as that of a christian, so much so, that it has been at the risk of the lives of some travellers, to call themselves christians, or to let it be known that they professed to be such.

CHAPTER XX.

Of the Jews in Italy, Poland, and Holland, from the thirteenth, to the nineteenth century.

WHILE the other European Sovereigns oppressed and persecuted the Jews, the Roman pontiffs, (or Popes,) for the most part, treated them with gentleness, and often opposed the mistaken zeal of those who expected to convince them by compulsion. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, they were protected by pope Gregory, called the Great.

In the eleventh century, Alexander II. condemned the persecuting spirit of king Ferdinand, and endeavoured to defend them against the rage of the crusades. At a later period Gregory IX, observing that the crusades in many places began their expedition by torturing and murdering the Jews, not only very much opposed them, but did all he could to prevent such barbarity. He also interposed in their favour, when the inhabitants of Hagenau charged them with killing the professed christians' children. He wrote a letter to Louis IX., to stop the persecution raised against them, during the reign of that monarch. Two other letters addressed to all christians, severely condemned those, who under the cloak of religion concealed their avarice; in order to harass the Jews. The lives of many of them were saved by his befriending them, not only in his own dominions, but in England, France and Spain. In 1247, Innocent IV. vindicated them, by writing, from the crimes with which they were charged, declaring, that they were more miserable under christian princes, than their ancestors had been under Pharaoh; which was very true.

Clement V., who, about the beginning of the fourteenth century, had removed the papal seat to Avignon, exerted himself to save the Jews from the persecution of

the shepherds, whom he excommunicated; but the anathemas of the church made little impression on that enthusiastic furious people. This pontiff not only protected the Jews, but afforded them means of instruction, and ordered that every university should have professors to teach Hebrew, and men whose education rendered them capable of disputing with, and convincing the Jews of their errors.

Clement VI. treated the Jews with much kindness and humanity. When they were put to death in various parts of Europe, upon pretence of poisoning the waters, he exerted himself to the utmost to suppress the popular fury. He also protected them from the cruelties of the inquisition, which raged with the greatest severity against the poor innocent christians called Albigenses, who were tortured to death, burnt and murdered by thousands.

Though the Jews were generally favoured and protected by the popes, yet at the commencement of the fifteenth century one called John XXIII. passed several severe laws against them. He was not only so cruel as to cause them to be persecuted in his own dominions, but encouraged and persuaded the government of Spain to punish and massacre them.

After the Catholics in Spain had banished the Jews, the Italians gladly received them. Pope Alexander VI. acted like a christian in furnishing the banished with provisions and whatever they needed, and also directed their brethren at Rome to afford them all the assistance they could. He allowed them the same privileges as their brethren formerly had enjoyed, and endeavoured to procure them, in all other parts of Italy, the full and free liberty of conscience respecting their religion.

Pope Paul III. was so kind to the Jews, that they became so numerous and powerful during his pontificate, that cardinal Sadolet exclaimed against him, for his fondness and kindness to an unbelieving race. He said that the pope was more kind to them, than he was to the christians, and that none could be promoted but

through their favour and interest, while at the same time he persecuted the protestants : it so there was an inconsistency and absurdity in his conduct. The truth is that most of the popes, if they were good in some things, they were bad enough in others to make up for the good.

Notwithstanding many of the popes were favourable to the Jews, yet they were sometimes persecuted at Rome ; though less there than in any other parts of Europe.

Though they were protected by some of the popes, they experienced, as might be expected, quite different treatment from others.

In the year 1555, Paul IV. was a great enemy to the Jews, and passed several decrees against them. He made them sell all their lands, and burn their books, and wear a distinguished dress, and would permit them to have but little conversation with those he called christians, and ordered that part of the city where they resided, to be shut every night. He limited the number of their synagogues ; and allowed them only one in each city, on which he demanded tribute, for the purpose of instructing, previous to baptism, such Jews as were willing to embrace the Romish religion.

In the seventeenth century, the affairs of the Jews in Italy assumed a favourable aspect. Pope Innocent XI. treated them with great kindness. He also made many efforts to effect their conversion. And built seminaries and hospitals for new converts, or those who pretended to be so. Gregory XIII. had previously ordered a sermon to be preached every week for the instruction of the Jews, and an ingenious and learned clergyman was chosen to prove, in these discourses, that the Messiah was come. He was ordered particularly to enlarge on the miseries the Jews had suffered through the long period of seventeen hundred years.* One third of the Israelites in Rome were obliged to be present in their

* So he was ordered to hold up to them that which was the principal cause of their not believing. For the cruel treatment the Jews have received from the professed christians, with their ungodly lives has been, and still is the great stumbling block in the way to their believing.

turn ; and the children, who had attained the age of twelve years, were registered among those who had to attend. But like all efforts before and since, and as we might expect before we hear the result, answered no purpose. The Jews often absented themselves, and those who attended, it was through fear of rendering offence, and having to endure more disagreeable usage in consequence, and many attended to ridicule the discourses. Cardinal Barberini, who took an active part in instructing and persuading them, acknowledged that most, if not all the conversions, were pretended, hypocritical and interested.

The Jews have long been numerous in those places subject to the popes ; where, as late as the middle of the eighteenth century, they are said to have possessed nearly one hundred synagogues, nine of which are in Rome.

The Jews in Poland, in the fourteenth century, were much favoured under Casimir called the Great, on account of the affection he had for Esther, a beautiful Jewess. The prosperous state of their affairs in this kingdom was not, however, wholly owing to that affection for the Jewess, but partly to their own industry, and to the laziness of the higher classes of people, and the oppressed state of the peasants.

The religious zeal against the protestants and which caused them to be banished from Poland, and the protestants being thought to be much worse than the Jews, caused the Jews to have more liberty of conscience.

Poland has long been the place where the most learned Jews resided, and to which, from other countries the Jews have sent their children to study the Talmud, and rites of their religion.

The Jews were so numerous in Frankfort, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, that they were calculated to amount to thirty thousand ; but they were often plundered, and abused, and employed in the most debased offices. Stolberg, a late traveller, says, " that they were all obliged to live in one long and irregular

street, while their houses were separated back and front by an high wall, and at ten or eleven o'clock, every evening both ends of the street were shut up. And at other times no Jew, without special permission, was allowed to go out of his prison, during the time of divine service among the christians."

Several learned Jews, in Poland and Germany have at different times been converted, or pretended to be, to christianity. Mordecai Ben Moses, a native of Germany, had become celebrated for his zeal in writing against the New-Testament : but after diligently perusing of it, and comparing of it with the Old, he became convinced that Jesus was the Messiah, and renounced Judaism, and was baptized in the year 1701.

The Jews in Holland have enjoyed more liberty, and have been more prosperous and rich than in any other part of the world.

Sixty thousand Portuguese and German Jews are dispersed throughout Holland. Amsterdam contains nearly two thirds of this number. This country afforded them a place of refuge from the cruelties, that they experienced in other parts of the world. But there was one thing hindered them from resting here as they otherwise might have done. And that was, the door to lucrative and honourable employment were shut against them, and they were forbidden the use of the arts and professions.

It is said, " that there has been a large number of learned writers among the Batavian Jews, many of whose names will descend with honour to posterity."— It is also stated, " that the American Independence, founded on the equal rights of man, has been particularly favourable to this long oppressed and persecuted people."

The Jews have been deceived by several other Messiahs, besides those that have been mentioned, but by none near so much as Sabatai Sevi, the last one we have noticed.

Between the years of 1520 and 1560, three false

Messiahs appeared in Europe ; two of whom Charles V. emperor of Germany, burnt to death, and the other he imprisoned for life.

A. D. 1682, Mordecai a German Jew, professed himself the Messiah, and would have been punished in Italy, had he not escaped to Poland.

As late as the year 1794, one Richard Brothers arose in England, and made a great out cry and noise. He declared himself to be a prophet, and the one, under, and appointed by the Lord God to restore the Jews to Jerusalem. He published two books, (which had a most rapid sale,) which he called, “ a revealed knowledge of the prophecies, and times ;” wrote, as he declares, “ under the direction and by command of the Lord God, and published by his command, for the benefit of all nations on earth, containing great and remarkable things,” (which is true enough, but would have been more so, if they had all turned out to be true things,) and which he declared would terminate in the restoration of the Hebrews to Jerusalem, and the commencement of the millennium, by the year 1798. He asserted that he was of Jewish descent, and many others, that were not considered so. There were many that believed in his predictions, though but very few Jews, as they had been so often disappointed before.

Several of the English nation wrote in his vindication, and endeavoured to prove that he was a true prophet, particularly Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, Esqr. member of Parliament ; whom Brothers had informed that he was descended from the ancient Hebrews, of the tribe of Judah. And several also wrote and published to show that Brothers was a false prophet, particularly the celebrated Dr. George Horne. Time has decided the controversy, as all the great things of which he prophesied, were to be accomplished within four years. If he had have set the limits forty years it would still have remained undecided. And no doubt but that many would yet have believed.

It is true that several of his prophecies respecting the

French revolution did come to pass, and respecting America's declaring war against England.

Brassey Halhed delivered several speeches to the house of commons respecting Brothers and his prophecies, one on the 31st of March 1795, and another 21 April same year.

He also laid Brothers' prophecies before the house of parliament, for their examination and consideration, but little notice was taken of them.

About 1650, three hundred Rabbins, and a multitude of other Jews assembled in the plains of Ageda, in Hungary, and had a serious dispute whether the Messiah was come? And whether Jesus of Nazareth was he? "Many seemed," says a writer, "to be in a fair way to believe, (now we meet with that which is enough to sicken them, and no wonder,) but the Popish doctors present, by their mad extolling of the Papal power, the adoration of the Virgin Mary, and other saints prevented it; and strengthened their prejudice against the christian faith." They never will believe till the right time comes, and then something must be offered to induce them, more substantial and powerful, than the arguments and reasoning of those who profess to believe in a Messiah, but by their work deny him.



CHAPTER XXI.

Of the Jews in America; the West Indies, and the United States. The Jews vindicated from calumnies. And why despised and hated.

THE inhabitants of that part of America which belonged to France, in their severity to the Jews, imitated the conduct of the parent country. In 1605, an edict was passed against the Jews, and the French officers were commanded to expel them from the American colonies; and they were commanded to depart within three months, under the penalty of the confiscation of their goods.

In the year 1639, David Nasci, a Portuguese Jew, a native of Brazil, obtained permission from the West-India Company in Holland, to form a colony in the Island of Cayenne, in South America. His brethren, the Jews, who accompanied him, were to be allowed the full enjoyment of every civil and religious privilege, on condition that they should grant the same without reserve to all who might choose to be their fellow colonists, or wish to reside in the same place. On the conquest of this Island by the French in 1664, Nasci and his followers went from thence to Surinam, where they were allowed full liberty of conscience respecting their religion, and many civil rights.

Thus being secured in the advantages resulting from liberty, the Jews soon became a numerous and flourishing people. In 1689, they possessed forty plantations, and a large number of slaves. They say that they have always been useful citizens; disposed to make every exertion, and to do all they could, for the welfare of the community; and have often borne more than their part of public burthens;—all of which appears to be correct. They increased in number and wealth, and in 1760, one hundred sugar plantations were possessed by individuals of their society.

In Paramaribo, the Dutch Calvinists, Lutherans, Moravians, and Roman Catholics, had their several churches and chapels, and the Portuguese and German Jews their synagogues. It is said that no where is the peace of society less disturbed by religious opinions, than in Surinam. Persons who differ the most in religious opinions, live in intimate connection and friendship. It is probable they care but little about religion, and therefore don't quarrel about it. For it has been the most zealous among all people, who not having, at the same time, the spirit of religion, or a good spirit, that have quarrelled most about it; and all according to the power possessed have persecuted.

The greatest check to the prosperity of Surinam, has arisen from the inhabitants being exposed to the inva-

sion, and depredations of the Maroons, or run-away negroes, who have become collected in several bands, in the almost impenetrable parts of the woods, or wilderness, and who are, or were, the most ungovernable and cruel enemies to the colonies. The Jewish militia have often suppressed them, by which the colony have not received so much injury from them. Jews and the professed christians unite together for the purpose of encouraging literature.

There are Jews in several of the West-India islands. In Jamaica, though the government was comparatively mild, they suffered some oppression; but not so as to hinder their increase. They were permitted to build synagogues, and allowed to practice their religion according to their own faith. Their knowledge of several languages, and an acquaintance with their brethren in the Spanish, and other West-India islands, assisted greatly to extend their trade, and increase the wealth of the island. They are protected equally with other subjects. A few Jewish families reside in Savannah in Georgia, who sometimes assemble for religious purposes.

In Charleston, South Carolina, there is a large society of Jews. Their whole number at present may be nearly eight hundred. Most of them have been born here, and are mostly descendants of German and Portuguese emigrants, who, to avoid the persecution and oppression in Europe, came here in about the year 1750. They have in general been industrious, and good members of society; and I may add, they in general have been the same in almost every country, when not oppressed and persecuted.

The Jews in Charleston have equal literary advantages, with the other inhabitants. There are among them many men of talents and learning; their children in general are well educated. As they are here not compelled, as they have been in other countries to wear a disgraceful badge of distinction, there is no difference in their appearance, either in dress or address from

other citizens. They are treated and respected as they should be, (and as they should always have been,) some have been members of the state legislature.

The institutions which they have established, are chiefly religious and charitable. It is said that they have among themselves societies, with good rules, for the relief of strangers, and for attending the sick,* and for the burial of the dead. The most modern society, is an institution for the relief of orphans. Its capital was a few years ago ten thousand dollars, and yearly increasing.

There are upwards of thirty Jewish families in Richmond, Virginia, who not long since built a synagogue. It is supposed there are about one hundred in different parts of the state.

In Philadelphia there are about forty families of Jews, and have two synagogues. There are between one and two hundred in the state of Pennsylvania, who occasionally attend the synagogues in Philadelphia.

Until the Revolution, the Jews were excluded from a share in the government, they continued under this disadvantage until the new constitutions gave them, and all people, of whatever nation or religion, unlimited liberty of conscience, and all civil rights and privileges.

In New-York there are about sixty families. They have long had one synagogue. They form the congregation, called, Sberith Israel, which is incorporated by the state. There were some Jewish families here so long ago, as when the city was owned by the Dutch.—The Jews had the right of soil under the Dutch government, and the English never attempted to deprive them of it: on the contrary, they granted letters patent, in the time of queen Ann, to several Jewish families; who had arrived in London from France, among the religious sect called Hugonots, to settle in North America.

* "*I was a stranger and ye took me in, I was sick and ye visited me.*"—Matt. xxv 36, 37. Who are the best, those who do not believe that Christ was the Messiah—the Saviour of the world, nevertheless do as he said, or those who do believe and do not?

There are but few Jews in the eastern states. For many years past, they have had a synagogue at Newport, Rhode Island, among the few who settled there.— Some have been distinguished for the respectability of their characters, Judah Monis, who professed to be a convert to christianity, was admitted a publick teacher at Harvard University. He died in 1764, aged 81 years.

To the credit of the United States, it is probably, the only country in the world, in which the Jews have not been persecuted; but have on the contrary, with a few exceptions, been encouraged and indulged in every right of citizens. In all the United States, except Massachusetts and Maryland, they are allowed to hold offices in government. Here they have at last found an asylum, where they may openly worship the God of their fathers, and observe all the ordinances of their law, without fear or molestation. Equal protection is here secured, by the constitution of the country, to the Jew as well as the christian, to the Mahometan, or to the adorer of Brama. Each may discuss their religious opinions in perfect security, and publish them to the world without any one daring to make them afraid.

After all the sufferings and persecutions of the Jews, since their first dispersion, and the various ways that hundreds of thousands have been cruelly destroyed; it is calculated that there are now upwards of three millions in the world. (Some reckon double that number.) One of which resides in the Turkish empire; and in Persia, China, India, on the east and west of the Ganges, or Tartary, three hundred thousand. And in the west of Europe and Africa, and the West Indies and South America,* one million seven hundred thousand, in all which places their condition is much more tolerable or easy, than it has been, as we have seen, in times past. And there are, as stated by a late Jewish

* It is believed by some writers, who have travelled in the interior of America, that there are those called Indians of Jewish descent.

writer, "upwards of three thousand in the United States," and he says "that number is daily increasing, and also in wealth and importance, and that their confidence is placed in the infinite power of Jehovah, who can turn the hearts of men to the true worship, when it pleaseth him, and who will accomplish this in his own time, without regard to the puny and presumptuous efforts of mortals, who vainly think that they are capable of giving an impulse to the Almighty, and of hastening the fulfilment of his eternal decrees."

Thus we have seen the history of the Jews throughout their dispersion, down to the present day. And notwithstanding all their sufferings, on account of their unbelief, and the various means that have been used from time to time, to induce them to believe that Christ was the promised Messiah, they still remain Jews in the same unbelief as at first. It is really very extraordinary that so many thousands of almost all nations should believe and yet so few Jews. The above quoted writer, in referring to the many societies formed and means used in Europe, during the last 1800 years for their conversion, gives an account of an association established in London, only a few years ago, for the purpose of "converting the Jews to the christian faith." He says, "all that power, that titled names, that wealth, that unbounded zeal were capable of effecting, were unceasingly employed in endeavouring to give stability to this institution. Princes became its pastors, nobles poured their wealth into the laps of those chosen to announce the "glad tidings to the lost, degraded remnant of Israel." Every method which human ingenuity could invent, or that the clergy could devise, was resorted to in order to accomplish this mighty project. But after upwards of three hundred thousand dollars had been expended in these efforts, to convert the Jews to the christian faith, it was discovered that not one sincere worshipper of Jehovah, had abandoned their ancient law; and that there remained as the fruit of the labours and vast expenditures of the society, only four

old helpless women, which necessity had made com- and who would become worshippers of Mahomet tomorrow, if they were assured of receiving better fare," and he further asserts, "that in the whole history of the christian church, there is not one well authenticated instance of a descendant of Abraham apostatizing from disinterested motives; whereas it can be shewn that several unquestionable instances of individuals brought up in the christian faith; becoming converts to Judaism. The celebrated Rottangel, professor of the oriental languages at Koenisberg, embraced the law of Moses in the 17th century. In the year 1632, a minister of the christian faith, named Antony was burnt for becoming a proselyte to the Jewish religion. And Rabbi Isaac Gar, high priest of the synagogue at Amsterdam was bred a catholic priest."

No doubt but that there were many sincere Jewish converts to the christian faith in the first ages of the church, when it was by their own free choice. Compulsion never made a sincere convert to any thing. Since the degeneracy of the christian church, the conduct of the professed christians has been such towards the Jews, that it has been enough to make them have an antipathy and hatred against the christian religion, which it is certain they would not have had if the professed christians had been kind to them, and their conduct had corresponded with the example and precepts of Christ. So far then from their hating christianity, and being hypocrites, in making a profession of it to avoid suffering, there would, no doubt, have been thousands of sincere converts. Indeed it is not improbable, but that nearly the whole Jewish nation would have been believers; but it seems as if it was not so to be.

In reviewing the horrible calamities which the Jews have been compelled to endure, an account of the hatred that almost all nations have had against them, an enquiry will naturally arise in the minds of many, why has it been so? *What is the cause of their having been so hated and despised?* and there is something of it, yet, and

even in America, a Jew with many is considered inferior to almost every other class of people. A law exists in Maryland and Massachusetts, or did a few years ago, which prohibits the Jews from holding offices in either of these states, and declared unfit to be the representatives of the people. "An effort was made in the legislative assembly of Maryland to expunge this law, but this was defeated by a large majority of votes, which shows beyond all doubt, that however liberal the fundamental principles of the constitution may be, which says, "that every citizen shall be held eligible to fill public offices, without regard to his religious opinions," yet there are men even in this country who continue to persecute, or at least degrade this unfortunate people. A member from Dorchester, who voted against the bill in the Maryland legislature, stated, that he "did not think it proper or expedient to grant the rights and privileges which we enjoy, to a sect of people, who do not associate with us, and who do not even eat at our tables." According to this sapient representative of freemen, the Jews are to be held in a state of vassalage and degradation, so as to render them unfit to associate with their masters; and for this unfitness they are to be punished by being for ever kept in that degraded state. Another of these representatives, objected to the bill, because as he said, "it would encourage the Jews to come and dwell among us." Just as it was said, and as we have read, under tyrannical governments formerly."

But why should the people of Maryland or any other people object to having Jews dwell among them? what do they do? who do they injure? It is not for crimes that they should be degraded or despised. We never hear of theft, highway robbery, or murder committed by a Jew. The writer has never heard of a Jew being executed for any crimes in this country.

"In England and Holland, where numerous bodies of Jews are settled, in consequence of more religious liberty being granted there than in other European states, very few Jews have ever been charged with crimes con-

trary to law, or degrading to human nature. "Scarcely, (says the author of the Letters of certain Jews,) can one instance be given of a Portuguese Jew, executed at Amsterdam, or the Hague during two centuries." Can as much be said of the professed christians in any country of the world? In the United States where the criminal code is less sanguinary than it is in any other nation, do we not frequently see, or hear of persons put to death for the most atrocious crimes; but these men are not Jews, but professing to be christians. Let the comparison be drawn in reference to any other country, and the result will be found in favour of the Jewish nation. It is, or has been, objected against the Jews, that they are an abject, degraded race; actuated by no other principle than that of self; disposed to over reach others in their commercial transactions, and, at all times bent an acquiring wealth, without regard to the means employed to obtain it. These charges have been so often reiterated, that most men credit them, without allowing themselves to reflect upon their truths or probability. It is this, as in most other cases, men generally rest contented with what they have heard, or has been taught them in their infancy, and which they have seldom or never heard contradicted. It is from this state of indolence that error is continued from father to son; and that odium which has been cast upon the Jews, still exists. They are looked upon, even by many in this country, as a people undeserving the right of citizens, and who ought to be debarred all social intercourse. On candid investigation, it will be found that the Jews, in almost every country are as moral and correct in their general deportment as any other people. But admitting that in some places of the world, and at certain times they have done very wrong, which is true, can this be a matter of surprise, when it is well known that they are deprived of all the privileges of citizens, despised, insulted, reviled, debarred, and totally unacquainted with any thing but want and misery—can virtue and honour be expected to proceed from such a soil?"

treatment calculated to destroy every moral feeling? To cover the innocent with ignominy, is to pave the way to it. "So many laws," says a writer,* made against the Jews, always supposes in them a natural worthlessness; but these laws which are the fruits of hatred or prejudice, have no other foundation but the motive which gave rise to them. We see talents and virtue shine forth in the Jews, whenever they begin to be treated as men." Slavery, and such treatment as the Jews have experienced, debases human nature; whenever a man is excluded from participating in the rights and privileges of his fellow citizens, he becomes degraded in his own estimation; loses sense of moral duty; and seeks to revenge himself for the wrongs he suffers, by committing *degradations upon society*. Notwithstanding the correctness of these principles, the above quoted writer acquits the Jews of having been guilty of aggravated crimes; "we see few of them," says he, "commit murder, or other bad crimes that call forth public vengeance."†

It has been seen in this history, that many individuals have sprung from the Jewish nation, celebrated for their talents, and their virtues; and who were held worthy of filling important public offices, even under sovereigns professing a different religion. "It is sufficient to state, that in this country, many proofs might be found, of patriotism, of talents, and of virtue among the Jews, who in every state, where they are not disqualified by the existence of religious tests, have obtained a reputation for probity, and devotion for the public cause. Every where they are the champions of freedom; and have uniformly stood forward in the ranks of their fellow citizens when it was necessary to repel the invading foe. On no occasion did they ever-refuse to contribute to the exigencies of the state, or hesitate as to exposing themselves in the hour of danger."

It will readily be acknowledged, that in most coun-

* Abbe Gregoire, in his physical, moral, and political reformation of the Jews. Page 130.

† Ibid 134.

tries of Europe, the Jews have carried commercial speculation too far, and neglected the mechanic arts. But it is unjust to attribute this to their religious principles. A system which commands the believers in it, to the worship of the Deity, and universal benevolence to all mankind, cannot be charged with sanctioning any thing contrary to moral rectitude. It is the barbarous treatment of the descendants of Abraham, in almost every country in the world, that we are to find the cause of their deviation from rectitude. Obligated from the persecutions to which they were subjected, frequently to change their place of residence, and often to seek an asylum in other countries. They were seldom permitted to follow those useful branches of labour, which can only be done successfully, where people are secure from danger, and the mind free from terror. In the European states, particularly in Poland, Holland, and even in England, where the Jews enjoy comparative liberty, mechanics of every description are to be found, who are respected and esteemed for their industrious and sober habits. "In the United States of America (says an anonymous writer in behalf of the Jews) "a numerous race is springing up to manhood. The parents of these children are fully alive to the importance of teaching them habits of industry. But to induce them to act accordant with their feelings, every thing must be put out of the way calculated to weaken their confidence. All religious distinctions tending to interrupt social intercourse ; all tests precluding the free exercise of the rights of citizenship ; all laws countenancing a predominant religion ; and all associations, which have other objects than the union of the whole community upon the principles of perfect equality ; all these must be obliterated and extinguished, before the Jew can be restored to his place in society, and to his long lost privileges."

The question now returns with still more force, what are, or have been the causes of the mutual hatred which has subsisted between the Jews and other nations ? The

following observations from an excellent writer may assist in answering the query.*

“The Jews, driven from their country, but continually excited by the imposture of false Messiahs, could not tamely submit to a foreign yoke; and they preserved, even to the seventh century, a spirit of sedition, which excited hatred against them, as being prone to rebellion.

There is no religion so likely to offend the vanity of those who are not its followers, as that of the Jews. Its divine author gave it this spirit, to raise a barrier between them and the idolatrous nations by whom they were surrounded. Judaism is an exclusive worship, “different from all others,” and its singularity tends to make other men to be considered as odious and profane. As it professes there is but one God, the Gentiles revolted against a religion, which sapped the very foundation of paganism. They never spoke of circumcision, the most ancient of all rites, but with a smile of derision; and the transition from ridicule to contempt is easy. The christians considering the Jews as the murderers of their Saviour, too often forget the example of their founder, who, when upon the cross, implored forgiveness for his executioners. The mussulmen, who argued with the sabre, included the Jews in the proscriptions of all religion different from Islamism, (i. e. the religion of Mahomet.) Length of time gave strength to this animosity, which became hereditary. Which was supposed, that the Jews, irritated but too weak to oppose vengeance to oppression, privately occasioned public misfortunes. The vulgar adopting this idea, without examination, massacred them in the most brutal and horrid manner. The Jews, forced to follow usurious practices, many became rich; their riches excited envy, and rendered them still more odious. Such are the sources of the hatred which the world has indulged against the Jewish people and of the persecutions which have every where followed them.

* Ramsey's Universal History vol. 1. p. 319.

It may be further added, that the Jews of the same sect have always been united together. Their misfortunes, have made this union closer, and strengthened its ties. But being banished, proscribed, and every where abused, they cannot but conceive an aversion to all those who have leagued against them."

I may add that they, having lost their country, city, temple and standing of respectability, as a nation, and this, with many conceiving that they lay under a curse; has been, I don't know, but the principal cause of their having been more hated and despised than any other nation. "*And it shall come to pass, if thou wilt not hearken unto the voice of the Lord thy God,*" &c. "*that all these curses shall come upon thee: Cursed shalt thou be in the city, and cursed shalt thou be in the field. Cursed shalt be thy basket and thy store. Cursed shalt thou be when thou comest in, and cursed shalt thou be when thou goest out.*" &c. "*Because of the wickedness of thy doings,*" &c. See Deut. xxviii. 15, 20.

When we have such clear and abundant proof of a people being so severely and long punished for sin, and "*for having forsaken the Lord,*" and "*not hearkening unto his voice to keep his commandments.*" Is it not enough to cause all to fear, and to forsake all evil, and do that which is just and right to the utmost of their power? For what reason can any one have to suppose, that one people should be so punished for sin and disobedience, and another or others not? And particularly when we are told that "*God is no respecter of persons, but in every nation he that feareth him and worketh righteousness is accepted.*" But, "*the soul that sinneth it shall die.*" I consider the Jews as a standing and durable monument, "*as a beacon upon the top of a mountain,*" by which all people may see, and take warning of the consequences of sin, and wickedness. And I have a hope that this book, which has held them up in such a conspicuous light, will not be without its use.

CHAPTER XXII.

Of the extraordinary and wonderful preservation of the Jewish nation, and destruction of their enemies.

THE preservation of the Jews, notwithstanding all their dispersions, their sufferings, and various banishments from place to place, during 1800 years past, and still remaining a distinct people, is one of the greatest prodigies that can be imagined, and really one of the most signal and illustrious acts of divine Providence, and it is an event unparalleled in the annals of history. They are dispersed among all nations and yet they are not confounded with any, but still remain a distinct people. The drops of rain which fall, and the great rivers which flow into the ocean, are soon mingled and lost into that immense body of waters, and the same in all human probability would have been the fate of the Jews; they would have been mingled and lost in the common mass of mankind; but on the contrary the flow into all parts of the world, mix with all nations, and keep separate from all. They still live as a distinct people, and yet no where live according to their own laws, no where elect their own magistrates. Their feasts and sacrifices are limited to one certain place, and that hath been for nearly 1800 years in the hands of others, who will not suffer them to come thither. No people have continued unmixed so long as they have done. Not only those who have sent forth colonies into foreign countries, but even of those who have continued in their own country. The northern nations have come in swarms into the more southern parts of Europe: but where are they now? The Gauls went forth in great bodies to seek their fortune in foreign parts, but what traces or footsteps of them are now remaining any where? In France who can separate the race of the ancient Gauls from the various other people, who from time to time have settled there? In Spain who can distinguish exactly between the first possessors the

Spaniards and the Goths, and the Moors, who conquered and kept possession of the country for some years ? In England who can pretend to say with certainty, which families are derived, or descended from the ancient Britons, and from the Romans, or Saxons, or Danes, or Normands ? The most ancient and honourable pedigrees can be traced up only to a certain time, and beyond that there is nothing but conjecture, and uncertainty, obscurity and ignorance : but the Jews can go up higher than any nation, they can even deduce their pedigree from the beginning of the world. They may not know from what particular tribe, or family they have descended, but they know that they all sprung from the stock of Abraham. And yet the contempt with which they have been treated, and the hardships which they have undergone in almost all countries, would, one might think, have made them desirous to forget or renounce their original ; but they profess it, they glory in it ; and after so many wars, persecutions, and massacres, they still subsist, the nations of the earth have almost combined together to destroy them, and still they are very numerous ; and what but a supernatural power could have preserved them in such a manner as none other nation upon earth hath been preserved.

Basnage in his history of the Jews, says, here we behold a church hated and persecuted for 1700 years, and yet sustaining itself, and widely extended. Kings have often employed the severity of edicts and the hand of executioners to ruin it. The seditious multitudes, by murders and massacres, have committed outrages against it still more violent and tragical. Princes and people, Pagans, Mahometans, and christians, disagreeing in so many things, have all united to exterminate the Jews ; but have not been able to succeed. The bush of Moses, surrounded with flames ever burns, and is never consumed. The Jews have been expelled at different times, from every part of the world, which hath only served to spread them in all regions. From age to age

they have been exposed to misery and persecution; yet still they subsist, in spite of the ignominy and the hatred which hath pursued them in all places, when the greatest monarchs are fallen and nothing remains of them besides the name. Even Babylon that great city, is no more, and the inhabitants, the Babylonians are only known by name. The judgments which God has inflicted upon this people, are terrible, extending to the men, women and children, and the very land in which they dwelt. It seems to be under a never ceasing curse. Pagans, christians, and Mahometans, in a word almost every nation have by turns seized and held Jerusalem. To the Jew only hath God refused the possession of this tract of ground.

In all this there is no exaggeration: I am only pointing out facts, and, far from having a design to raise an odium against the nation from its miseries. It ought to be looked upon as one of those prodigies which we admire, but cannot comprehend, since in spite of evils so durable, and a patience so long exercised, it is preserved by a particular providence. "The Jews, says Bishop Newton, ought to be weary of expecting a Messiah, who so unkindly disappoints his vain hopes; and the christian ought to have his attention and his regard excited towards men whom God preserves for so great length of time, under calamities which would have been the total ruin of any other people."

The preservation of this extraordinary people, during their calamitous dispersion, exhibits the faithfulness of the Deity in fulfilling his gracious promise, that, "*when they are in the land of their enemies, he will not cast them away, nor destroy them utterly:*" and "*I am with thee, saith the Lord, to save thee; though I make a full end of the nations whither I have scattered thee, yet I will not make a full end of thee; but will correct in measure, &c.*"* The care of Divine Providence is wonderfully displayed, in saving the outcasts of Israel from

* Lev. xxvi. 44

utter extermination, while groaning under the most furious intolerance.

Though from the destruction of Jerusalem to the seventeenth century, there are few countries, in which they have not been successively banished, recalled, and again expelled; yet they have never been banished from one country, without finding an asylum in another. The Jews are, as foretold, dispersed over the habitable globe, being themselves the depositories of these oracles, in which their unbelief and consequent sufferings are clearly predicted. Had the Jews been all converted, we should have had none but suspected witnesses; had they been all destroyed, we should have had no witnesses at all. The exact accomplishment of our Saviour's predictions respecting the destruction of their city and temples, and the calamities they have endured since their dispersion, have furnished every age with the strongest arguments for the truth of the christian religion. One of the great designs of their being preserved, and continued a distinct people, appears to be, that their singular destiny might confirm the divine authority of the gospel, which they reject, and that they might strengthen the faith of others in these sacred truths, to which they refuse to yield their own consent.

I can hardly pass by taking some notice, how remarkable the providence of God has been, in the destruction of the enemies of the Jews, as well as in their preservation. The Egyptians afflicted them much and detained them in bondage many years.—The Assyrians carried away captive the ten tribes of Judah and Benjamin. The Syro-Macedonians, especially Antiochus Epiphanes, cruelly persecuted them; and the Romans utterly dissolved the Jewish state, and dispersed the people so that they have never been able to recover their city and country again. But where are now, says bishop Newton, these great and famous monarchs, which in their turns subdued and oppressed these people? are they not vanished as a dream, and not only their power, but their very names *lost in*

the earth? The Roman empire great and powerful as it was, was broken in pieces; while the Jews are existing as a distinct people to the present day. And what a wonder of wonders, and a wonder of providence is it, that the *vanquished* should so many ages, *survive the victors*, and the former be spread all over the world, while the latter are no more. Not only nations have been punished for their cruelties to the Jews, but individuals who have been their persecutors and oppressors.

The first born of Pharoah was destroyed, and he himself with his host was drowned in the sea. Most of those who oppressed Israel, in the days of the judges, Eglon, Jabin and Sisera, Oreb and Zeeb, and others came to an untimely end. Nebuchadnezzar was stricken with madness, and the crown was soon transferred from his family to strangers. Antiochus Epiphanes died in great agonies, with ulcers and vermin issuing from him, so that the filthiness of his smell was intolerable to all his attendants, and even to himself.— Herod who was a cruel tyrant to the Jews, died in the same miserable manner. Flaccus, who barbarously plundered and oppressed the Jews of Alexandria, was afterwards banished and slain. Caligula, who persecuted the Jews, for refusing to pay divine honours to his statue, was murdered in the flower of his age, after a short and wicked reign. Bishop Newton, says, “that since the Jews have rejected the Messiah, and been no longer the peculiar people of God, there is no such visible manifestation of a divine interposition in their favour.” But I think he has made a mistake: many of their persecutors have come to an unhappy end. It cannot be expected that a blessing would attend a persecutor of any people.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Of the religious sentiments, and practice of the Jews, and of their faith and expectations of a Messiah, to restore them to their long lost country.

THE Jews commonly reckon but thirteen articles of their faith. Maimonides, a famous Jewish Rabbi, reduced them to this number, when he drew their confession, about the end of the eleventh century; and it was generally received. All the Jews are obliged to live and die in the profession of these thirteen articles.

1. That God is the creator of all things; that he guides and supports all creatures; that he has done every thing; and that he still acts, and shall act during the whole eternity.

2. That he is one. There is no unity like his. He alone hath been, is, and shall be eternally God.

3. That God is incorporeal, and cannot have any material properties; and no corporeal essence can be compared with him.

4. That God is the beginning and end of all things, and shall eternally subsist.

5. That God alone ought to be worshipped, and none beside him to be adored.

6. That whatever has been taught by the prophets is true.

7. That Moses is the father and head of all cotemporary doctors, and those who lived before, and shall live after him.

8. That the law was given by Moses.

9. That the law shall never be altered; and God will give no other.

10. That God knows all the thoughts and actions of men.

11. That God will regard the works of all those who have performed what he commands, and punish those who have transgressed his law.

12. That the Messiah is to come though he tarry a long time.

13. That there shall be a resurrection of the dead, when God shall think fit.*

The Jews, since the destruction of their temple, have not offered any sacrifices ; and several religious rights, which were enjoined upon their ancestors, cannot be observed since their dispersion, on account of their having been local, and confined to the promised land.

The modern Jews adhere still as closely to the Mosaic dispensation, as their dispersed and despised condition will permit them. Their service consists chiefly in reading the law in their synagogues, together with a variety of prayers. They repeat blessings and particular praises to God, not only in their prayers, but on all accidental occasions, and in almost all their actions.—It is a rule among them, that no day must be passed without reading a portion of the law at home, nor any affair undertaken till they have implored the divine blessing. They are strictly forbidden all vain swearing, and pronouncing any of the names of God without necessity. (Very good.) They abstain from meats forbidden by the Levitical law ; for which reason, whatever they eat must be dressed by those of their own nation, in a manner peculiar to themselves. As soon as a child can speak, they teach him to read and translate the Bible into the language of the country where they live. In general they observe the same ceremonies which were practised by their ancestors in the celebration of the passover. They acknowledge a two fold law of God, a written one, and an unwritten one. The former is contained in the Pentateuch, or five books of Moses. The latter they pretend was delivered by God to Moses, and handed down from him by oral tradition. They deny the accomplishment of the prophecies in the person of Christ, and assert that the Messiah is not yet come, and that he will make his appear-

* Basnage's History of the Jews.

ance with the greatest grandeur, subduing all nations before him, and subjecting them to the house of Judah.

The Jews venerate the sabbath and observe it with the utmost strictness. On this day they are forbidden to kindle any fire, their food is therefore prepared on Friday. They are also forbidden to discourse on any kind of business, or carrying any kind of burden, or riding, or going by water, or walking above a mile from the city or place where they reside. They are even forbidden to inter their dead on the sabbath ; but are permitted to circumcise a child because that must be done exactly on the eighth day. But among the Jews, as among other sects, there are individuals who depart from the strict rules of their religion, and not only so, but there are many Jews who are deists. David Levi, a learned Jew, who in 1796, published a "Dissertation on the prophecies of the Old Testament," (and who is the author of the letters to Dr. Priestley, which are inserted in this volume.) Observes in his Dissertations, that "deism and infidelity have made such large strides in the world that they have at last reached even to the Jewish nation : many of whom are at this time so greatly affected with scepticism, by reading Bolingbroke, Hume, Voltaire, &c. that they scarcely believe in a revelation ; much less have they any hope in their future restoration."

The Jewish sabbath begins on Friday, an hour before sun set. They then leave all manner of work ; and, having cleaned, and dressed themselves, in honour of the holy day, repair to the evening service. The women light a lamp, with seven cotton wicks, in remembrance of the days of the week. The reason why this ceremony is invariably assigned to the women, is that their original mother, by her crime in eating the forbidden fruit, first extinguished the lamp of righteousness ; they are to make an atonement for that sin, by rekindling it, in lighting the lamp of the sabbath.

They then spread a clean cloth upon the table, and set two loaves of bread upon it, baked on Friday, and

covered with a napkin, in memory of the manna which fell with dew, under and above it, yet descended not on the sabbath; but on a Friday they had a double portion.

The Jews pray for the souls of the dead, because they suppose there is a *Paradise* for the souls of good men, where they enjoy glory in the presence of God. They believe that the souls of the wicked are tormented in hell. That some are condemned to be punished forever, though they believe that there are but few that suffer eternally, while others continue only for a limited time, and this they call purgatory, which is not different from hell respecting the place, but of the duration.

They suppose no Jews, unless guilty of heresy, or certain crimes specified by the Rabbins, shall continue in purgatory above a year.*

The modern Pharisees are less strict than their ancestors with regard to food and other austerities of the body. They formerly fasted the second and fifth day of the week, and used several mortifications. As to their doctrine with the Essenes, they held absolute predestination, and with the Sadducees, free will.—They believed with Pythagoras, the transmigration of souls; especially those who were virtuous; believing that those who were notoriously wicked, would be punished eternally. As to less crimes, they held that they were punished in the bodies which the souls of those who committed them, were next sent into. According to this notion it was, that Christ's disciple asked him, *Who did this sin, this man or his parents, that he was born blind?* And when the disciples told Christ, *That some said he was Elias, and others Jeremiah, or one of the prophets;* the meaning only can be, that they thought he was come into the world animated with the soul of Elias, Jeremiah, or some of the old prophets transmigrated into him.†

* Ockley's History of the Jews.

† Broughton's Historical Library, vol. 1 & 2.

With regard to the ten tribes, the learned Basnage believes they still exist in the east, and gives several reasons therefor. "If they are not distinguishable, it is impossible it should be otherwise in so long a course of ages and afflictions which they have passed through. In fine, if we would seek out the remains of the ten tribes, we must do it near the Euphrates, in Persia, and in the neighbouring provinces."

Although the Jews profess to know nothing certain as to the real place of abode of the ten tribes: yet they say, that they are lost only in name, and that they will be restored together with Judah and Benjamin; and likewise all those who have embraced christianity, or Mahometanism, will then return to the religion of their fathers; that their nation, thus restored and united, shall never again go into captivity, nor never be subjected to any power; but on the contrary, they believe that all the nations on earth shall therefore be under their dominion; Judea will then become fruitful as formerly; Jerusalem will be built on its ancient ground, and the real descendants of the priests and Levites, will be reinstated in their respective offices, although they may have been forced to apostatize. Then likewise will be restored the spirit of prophecy, the ark and cherubim, fire from heaven, &c. the same as their fathers enjoined in the tabernacle, in the wilderness, and in Solomon's temple. Such is the expectation of the Jews in regard to the Messiah, and his kingdom, which they still assert to be not of a spiritual, but of a temporal nature.

The expectation of the promised Messiah, is the leading tenet, and distinguishing feature in the religion of the modern Jews. Transported with the idea of a temporal Messiah and deliverer, who is to subdue the world, and reinstate them in their own land, the Jews still wait for his appearance, but they have neither fixed the place where, nor the time when he is to come.—They discourage all attempts at calculations, on the seventy weeks of Daniel, which fix the period for the

coming of the Messiah. It is very difficult to draw them into conversation on the subject. They say that they wish to make no proselytes to their religion, nor to be disturbed with the attempt of others to draw them from it.

They believe the Messiah when he comes will be of the tribe of Judah, the lineal descendant of David, and be called by his name ; his special mission is to restore the dispersed sheep of Israel, plant them safely in their own land ; subdue their enemies, and thereby bring the world to the knowledge of the one true God, and introduce universal peace and happiness that shall never more be interrupted.

His coming and their restoration have not yet taken place, they say, "because they are still unworthy of being redeemed, and have not repented, or have not yet received the full measure of their punishment." And they will not own that any of their punishment has been on account of having crucified Jesus Christ. And they also deny that their forefathers crucified him.

A late Jewish writer says, "The power of life and death was not at that time in their hands, but in the hands of the Romans. It was a Roman governor, acting in the name of the emperor, who presided as judge, and condemned Jesus to death." True, but it was the Jews, who in a manner forced him so to do. The governor was very unwilling to do it : but nothing would satisfy them short of his death, they cried "crucify him, crucify him," and the cowardly Pilate, through their clamours, and, fearing worse consequences from their rage, he yielded. But I will go on a little further, with my Jewish writer, which some readers may be pleased to see what the Jews have to say in their own vindication. "Even the writings of the christians, no where state that he was crucified by a sentence of the Jewish Sanhedrim."

The Rabbi, Orobio, of whom a christian writer* said, "that he was the most learned, and the most il-

* Limborch.

lustrious Jew," expresses himself upon this subject in a manner that meets the entire approbation of our nation. "It is impossible," says he, "that the Jews should have crucified the true Messiah, since the prophets expressly say, that the Messiah should come to cleanse Israel from all sin; that he would not leave a single stain in all Israel. Now it would be most horrible sin, and abominable pollution, as well as the most palpable contradiction, that God should send his Messiah to be crucified. When it is repeatedly declared by the prophets, that he should reign, and that all nations should serve and obey him, and that there should be universal peace. I could easily multiply passages from our sacred books, as to the character and coming of the Messiah, that the Messiah of the christians could never be the personage pointed out by the prophets." "How," says a late writer, "can a man in his senses, see in the Immanuel, announced by Isaiah, the Messiah, whose name is Jesus? How discover, in an obscure and crucified Jew, *a leader who shall govern Israel? How see a royal deliverer and restorer of the Jews*, in one, who, so far from delivering his nation, suffered himself to be crucified; and after whose coming the land was desolated by the Romans? A man must be sharp sighted indeed, to find the Messiah in such a personage.

"When our deliverer shall come to break our chains, the earth shall tremble at his presence, and kings shall fall down at his feet. He shall overcome all obstacles, and Zion shall be restored, and become more flourishing than of old. Happy, happy shall the Jews who shall then enjoy the light of the sun; they shall see in one day more miracles than have hitherto been wrought since the creation of the world. They shall contemplate the face of the most august Messiah resplendant with glory."*

* It is little matter how outwardly resplendent, and glorious. To become a holy people, holy in heart, they must be a spiritual people, or pure in heart to effect this, it requires a Messiah, that can be felt inwardly, or his power, operating on the heart. It is such a Messiah they must have, if ever they become a holy people.

The celebrated Marquis D'Argens, in his Jewish letters, while personating one of our nation, observes, "that if all the Jews who are in the countries of the Great Mogul, in Muscovy, in Turkey, in Africa, and in the several kingdoms of Europe, were assembled in one country, I doubt whether there would be a more mighty nation on earth." This shall one day happen, when the long captivity, under which we now languish, shall have its final period. "The walls* of Jerusalem shall be rebuilt by her children, the Holy Temple again restored, and the Almighty worshipped therein by his faithful Israelites, in the same manner as heretofore."—(I can't believe it will be such a ceremonial worship.) "Let the professed christians then go on to boast their prosperity, and to upbraid us with our misfortunes.—He who hath brought us into this slavery, and made us stoop to the yoke of these nations, can deliver us when he pleases."

"The true cause of the dispersion of our nation, is not owing to the commission of any one particular sin, but to our manifold transgressions against the laws of our God, and to the restless spirit of those among us, who, by their intestine division, and credulity in following after false Messiah's, excited the indignation of the Romans. Any one possessing common observation, and living at the time of these turbulent, and rebellious beings, might easily foresee, and foretell the consequences without requiring the spirit of prophecy. The acts of the apostles without refering to any other authority, afford sufficient proof, that immediately preceding the destruction of our temple, multitudes were led astray by unprincipled pretenders." *Before these days rose*

* I can't see what need there *will be* for walls, (which are solely for defence,) if there is to be *universal peace*, and nations war no more.—And the prophet Ezekiel speaking of that day, says, "*that all of them will dwell safely, without walls, and having neither bars nor gates.*"—xxxviii 11) And (Zech. ii. 4, 5.) says, "*Jerusalem shall be inhabited without walls.*"—"For I, saith the Lord, will be unto her a wall of fire round about, and will be the glory in the midst of her." And I think the scriptures no where state that Jerusalem, or any other cities, in that day, will be enclosed with walls as formerly.

up Theudas, boasting himself to be somebody, to whom a number of men, about 400, joined themselves. After this man, rose up Judas of Galilee, and drew away much people after him. A certain man called Simon, which before time in the same city, used sorcery, and bewitched the people of Samaria, giving out that himself was some great one, to whom they all gave heed, from the least to the greatest, saying this man is the great power of God. Add to this the testimony of Josephus, who states, that Judas of Galilee had got together 30,000 of those infatuated men, who committed great ravages, and actually threatened the stability of the Roman empire.—Let any one then say, whether there was not sufficient reason to justify the punishment inflicted on our nation,” (no, by no means,) “without seeking a cause for this, as the christians have done, in the death of their pretended Messiah. If these men would allow themselves to think rationally, they would soon perceive, that if any persons deserved chastisement for delivering up Jesus to be put to death, it was the Romans, in whom alone the power was vested, and not our people, who could not of themselves, have touched a hair of his head.” But it appears they did, and placed a crown of thorns upon it, and *cryed, crucify him, crucify him.* They were altogether to blame.

Further reasons which the Jews assign for not believing that Christ was the true Messiah, will be seen in the letters, in the latter part of this volume, written by one of the latest and most distinguished writers of the Jewish nation. In another work which he has written, speaking of those among his brethren, who in all ages have professed christianity, observes, that “they have not acted voluntarily, but of compulsion, as in Spain and Portugal, or from interested motives ; that notwithstanding they seemed to apostatise, and pretended to embrace christianity, yet in their hearts they secretly adhered to the true faith and law of Moses, and such are at this day called, among us, the *compelled*, because they act by compulsion ; but as soon as they can, by

any means, escape from the popish countries, they instantly return to Judaism." He asserts, "that there is scarcely an instance of a Jew ever having embraced christianity, on the pure principles of religion, but merely from interested motives."

Ramsey in his Universal History, says, "it is acknowledged that there have been multitudes of dissembling Jews, particularly in Spain and Portugal. But still there have been doubtless a number, who have professed the christian religion from a real conviction of its truth. A few may be mentioned of a late period.

About the year 1763, Solomon Dutch, a learned Rabbi, in Germany, renounced Judaism. During seven years, his mind had been perplexed with doubt respecting religion ; but at length, the difficulties which embarrassed him were removed, and he openly professed himself a disciple of Christ, and become a zealous preacher of the Gospel.

In 1797, Juan Joseph Heydeck, a learned Jewish convert in Spain, published at Madrid, a work entitled, "A Defence of the Christian Religion," in 4 volumes quarto.

Mr. Lapidoth, a wealthy and respectable Jew in Holland, in early life entertained doubts respecting the Jewish religion ; and having secretly procured a New-Testament, and continued his researches, and after various perplexities, he become convinced and openly professed christianity.*

It should not be omitted, to mention, what is very commendable and praise worthy in the Jews. Their charity to the poor of their own society and nation is very great. A Jew never suffers for any thing, if it is in the power of his brethren to help him. Also their care to settle their differences, in civil concerns amicably among themselves, is worthy of imitation.

Their having been so long persecuted and despised, and being in the midst of strangers, has united them to-

* Evangelical Magazine.

gether in the bond of affection more closely, probably, than any other society.



CHAPTER XXIV.

Of the fulfilment of the predictions of Moses, and other prophecies, relating to the dispersion and sufferings of the Jews. Being a recapitulation of the foregoing History.

It has been mentioned heretofore that some notice would be taken of the 28 chapter of Deut. If the reader will compare it with the foregoing history, he will see how exactly, all things that have befell the Jews, were foretold, or how exactly all things prophecied of them, have been fulfilled. And although the events are related in the history preceding, yet it may be well to sum up by way of a recapitulation, those in particular, which clearly shew the fulfilment of the prophecies. And as a writer says, “this chapter appears to be a correct miniature picture of the leading features in their history, drawn by the pencil of inspiration. The devout must feel an augmented veneration for the scriptures, while they observe the complete agreement of ancient prophecies, with events which transpired more than 2,000 years after. Scepticism must be confounded by seeing the history of succeeding ages so accurately delineated in predictions uttered so long before the events transpired.”

Among the many predictions in which this argument is strikingly evident, and which deserves to be particularly noticed, are the following :

Verse 49. “*The Lord shall bring a nation against thee from far, as swift as the eagle flieth, a nation whose tongue thou shalt not understand.*” This description cannot be applied to any nation with so much propriety as to the Romans. They truly were brought from far.

Vespasian and Adrian the two great conquerors and destroyers of the Jews, both came from commanding in Briton. The Romans too for the rapidity of their conquest, might well be compared to eagles, and probably not without an illusion to the standard of the Roman armies, which was an eagle ; and their language was unknown to the Jews. The enemies of the Jews are further described in the next verse. "*A nation of fierce countenance, which shall not regard the person of the old, nor shew favour to the young.*" And how often have we read in the preceding history, of the Romans destroying the infant with the aged. Verse 51. "*And he shall besiege thee in all thy gates, until thy high and fenced walls come down, wherein thou trusted, throughout all thy land.*" We have seen how the Romans demolished and destroyed several fortified places, before they besieged Jerusalem, and then demolished the walls around it. The Jews may very truly be said to have trusted in their "*high and fenced walls,*" for they seldom ventured a battle in the open field. They confided in the strength and situation of Jerusalem, as the Jubusites, the former inhabitants of the place had done before them, insomuch that they are represented as saying, "who shall come down against us? or who shall enter into our habitations."

It was expressly foretold that even a delicate woman should eat her own child. (The particular account of this transaction, is given in page 69.) One would have thought, that such scenes of distress as these people have passed through, particularly of a tender mother killing and eating of her own child, would not have been thought of, or have entered the mind of any person, much less that any one could have foreseen and foretold it. Moses had foretold the same thing before. Levit. xxi. 29. and repeats it in Deut. xxviii. 56, 57. "*The tender and delicate woman among you, who would not adventure to set the sole of her foot on the ground for delicateness and tenderness, shall eat her children for want of all things, secretly in the siege,*

and straitness wherewith thine enemies shall distress thee in thy gates." Moses says, that she should do it secretly ; and it was so done, when she had boiled and eat one half, she covered up the rest, and kept it for another time. So exactly hath this prophecy been fulfilled.

Verse 62. It is said, "*And ye shall be left few in number, whereas ye were as the stars of heaven for multitudes.*" What vast numbers there was destroyed in the last siege of Jerusalem and in Judea by sword and famine ; (that to those who have read the foregoing history, nothing need be said to show how exactly and repeatedly the following text was fulfilled. "*And thy carcasses shall meet unto the fowl of the air, and unto the beasts of the earth, and no man shall fray them away.*") Besides the multitudes that have been destroyed from time to time, at various times and places since. Indeed there is not a nation on earth, that hath been exposed to so many massacres and persecutions. If God had not given them a promise of a numerous posterity, the whole race would have been extirpated.

Verse 68. "*And the Lord shall bring thee into Egypt again with ship : and there ye shall be sold, unto your enemies, for bondmen and bondwomen ; and no man shall buy you.*" That is, there were so many sold, there was no man to buy, or who wanted to purchase any more. They had once come out of Egypt triumphant, but they should return thither as slaves. They had walked through the sea on dry land, at their coming out, but now they should be carried thither in ships. It is probable they were carried in the ship of the Tyrian or Sidonian merchants, or by the Romans, who had a fleet in the Mediterranean : and this was a much quicker way of conveying so many prisoners, than to convey them four hundred miles by land. When Jerusalem was taken by Titus, of the captives who were above 17 years, he sent many bound to the works in Egypt ; those under 17 years were sold : but so little care was taken of these captives, that 11,000 of them mostly perished through the want of provision. The markets

where quite overstocked with them, so that they were sold, women and children at the lowest prices, there being many to be sold and few purchasers, so that hereby was verified that of the Psalmist. (xliv. 12.) "*Thou sellest thy people for naught, and takest no money for them.*" And we learn from St. Jerome, that after their last overthrow by Adrian, many thousands of them were sold, and those who could not be sold, were transported into Egypt, and many perished by shipwreck and some by famine, and others massacred by the inhabitants.

Their former captivities were very short in comparison ; and then they had prophets among them, as Ezekiel, Daniel and some others, who prophecied an end to their captivity, and were a consolation to them. But now, nor since their dispersion they have had no true prophet to foretell an end of their calamities, but plenty of false Messiah's to delude them, and aggravate their misfortunes. In their former captivities, they had the comfort of all being conveyed to the same place, and of being together, and thereby being some consolation to one another. They dwelt together in the land of Goshen, they were carried together in Babylon ; but now they are dispersed all over the earth. What nation hath suffered such plagues and of so long continuance ? and still remain a distinct people. Indeed but very few nations hath subsisted as a distinct people in their own country, so long as these have done in their dispersion into all countries ? "What a standing miracle," says Bishop Newton "is this, exhibited to the view and observation of the whole world ?"

Nothing ever come to pass more correct than the following : "*Thou shalt be spoiled and oppressed evermore.*" How many instances have we read of, of the cruel oppression and pillage that this people have suffered, in England, France, Germany and Spain, and other places ; they have been continually subjected to heavy fines, and impositions. In different countries they have been forced to redeem their lives by vast sums extorted from them ! Did sovereigns want pecu-

niary assistance to carry on their wars, the Jews were compelled to give up their riches. A massacre was generally a prelude to a plunder, as we have seen in various parts of Europe. When banished from England, in the reign of Edward, their estates which were confiscated brought immense sums to the crown.*—When Philip Augustus expelled them from France, he confiscated their estates; yet he soon after recalled this oppressed people, to fleece them again.† They have almost every where paid for liberty to exist.

“Thy sons and thy daughters shall be given unto another people.” How exactly has this prophecy been fulfilled in several countries, especially in Spain and Portugal. In the former of these kingdoms, the council of Toledo decreed, that the children of the Jews should be taken from them, and educated in the christian faith; when they were expelled, all under fourteen years of age, were forcibly detained to be baptized. (How hard this must have been.) In the frenzy and despair of the afflicted parents, at the parting of their children, we contemplate the accomplishment of another prophetic denunciation.

“Thou shalt be mad for the sight of thine eyes, which they shall see.” And into what madness, fury, and desperation, have they not been excited, by the cruel extortions and oppressions which they have undergone. And what madness it was, when the Jews took refuge in the castle of Massada,‡ when being closely besieged by the Romans, they at the persuasion of Eleazar their leader, first killed their wives, and children: then ten men were chosen by lot to slay the rest; this being done, one of the ten was chosen in like manner to kill the other nine, which as soon as executed, he set fire to the place, then stabbed himself. There were 960 who perished in this miserable manner, and only two women and five boys escaped by hiding themselves.

* page 143, 144.

† page 149.

‡ page 85.

Such another instance of madness and desperation happened in the reign of Richard, when 500, put to death their wives and children, and then destroyed themselves.*

And what madness when led by a false prophet, upon the top of a precipice, and by his order flung themselves into the sea. And several other instances are recorded, by which the prediction was completely fulfilled.†

After mentioning the oppression and barbarous cruelty the Jews were compelled to endure, and the madness subsequent upon their extreme sufferings, Moses further declares, (verse 37,) "*Thou shalt become an astonishment, a proverb, and a by-word among all nations, whither the Lord shall lead thee.*" How exactly has this prophecy been fulfilled upon this unhappy race, who have been a by-word ever since their dispersion! In various countries of the east, as well as in Europe, they have been subjected to disgraceful distinctions, and condemned to wear outwardly the badges of their abject state, and every where exposed to the insults of the vilest populace; and, in several parts of Europe, subjected to the same toil with those animals which they abhor. Professed christians, Mahometans and Pagans, however much they may disagree in other points, yet generally agree in abusing, villifying, and persecuting them. In most places where they are tolerated, they are obliged to live in a separate quarter by themselves, and to wear some badge of distinction. Their very countenances commonly distinguishes them from the rest of mankind. They are in all respects treated as if they were of another species. And when a great master of nature would draw a portrait of a Jew, what a detestable character hath he represented, in the person of his Jew of Venice?

The sacred writer proceeds in delineating outlines of their miseries, and declares, "*The Lord will make thy plagues wonderful, and the plagues of thy seed, and even*

* Page 139. † page 111.

great plagues and of long continuance." And the calamities they have endured, have been the greatest the world ever witnessed of any other people. Ever since the destruction of Jerusalem, their city and temple, they have been outcasts from society, subsisting amidst enemies who have tried every way to destroy them.—“For 1800 years the nations of the earth having been treading under feet, the remains of Israel.” What nation ever suffered so much, and yet continued so long? At one time they have been banished through superstition; at another, recalled through avarice. A writer of their own nation has observed, “it seems as if they were allowed to survive the destruction of their country, only to stand as the constant object of the most shocking injustice, as a mark for the insulting finger of scorn, as a sport to the most inveterate hatred.”

It was foretold of them, that they should not rest long in any place, nothing could have been more true than this has been. “*And among these nations thou shalt find no ease, neither shall the sole of thy foot have rest.*”

The foregoing history shows that so far from finding rest, they have been banished from city to city, from country to country. In many places they have been banished and recalled, and banished again. Only to mention a few banishments from countries well known. In the latter end of the thirteenth century, they were banished from England by Edward I., and were not permitted to return and settle again till Cromwell's time. In the latter end of the fourteenth century, they were banished from France by Charles VI., (Mezeray says this was the seventh time,) and ever since they have been tolerated. In the latter end of the fifteenth century, they were banished from Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella; and (according to Mariana,) there were 170,000 who left the kingdom. Most of them paid dearly to John II. for a refuge in Portugal, but within a few years they were expelled from thence by his successor. And

in the latter part of the last century, they were banished from thence by the queen of Bohemia.

How often and long have these poor people experienced the following : “ *And thy life shall hang in doubt before thee, and thou shalt fear day and night, and shalt have no assurance of thy life. In the morning thou shalt say, Would to God it were evening ! and at evening thou shalt say, Would to God it were morning ! for the fear of thy heart wherewith thou shalt fear, and for the sight of thy eyes which thou shalt see.*”

We have living witnesses to the truth of the following : “ *And yet for all that,*” their sufferings “ *when they be in the land of their enemies, I will not cast them away, neither will I abhor them to destroy them utterly, and to break my covenant with them.*”* And what a marvellous thing it is, that after so many wars, battles, and sieges, after so many fires, famines, and pestilence, after so many rebellions, massacres, and persecutions, after so many years of captivity, slavery, and misery, and continually *oppressed and spoiled*, they are not destroyed utterly, and though scattered among all people, yet subsist as a distinct people by themselves. Where is any thing comparable to this to be seen in all the histories, and in all the nations under the sun ?

Here are prophecies delivered above 3,000 years ago, and yet as we see fulfilling in the world at this very time. What stronger proof can we have or desire, of the truth of the spirit of prophecies. How these numerous instances, of prophecies so exactly fulfilled, may effect others, I know not ; but for my part, I can truly say, that they not only remove doubts, and convince, but often, since I have been writing this history, have been amazed and astonished beyond expression ! They are truly as Moses foretold they would be, “ *A sign and a wonder upon thy seed forever. Moreover all these curses shall come upon thee, and pursue thee and overtake thee, till thou be destroyed, because thou hearkenest not unto the voice of the Lord thy God.*” If all that is past, come upon these people for not hearkening,

* Lev. xxvi. 44.

and for being disobedient, it is enough to make all take warning, and fear to continue in sin and disobedience to known duty.

Besides the prophecies of Moses, most of the other prophets, and many passages in the Old Testament, declare to the same, respecting the past condition, and present state of the Jews. Like unto Jeremiah v. 6. *Lo! I will bring a nation upon you from far, O house of Israel, saith the Lord; it is a mighty nation, a nation whose language thou knowest not, neither understandeth what they say.*" Then he tells how this nation would ruin the Jews, eat up and destroy every thing that belonged to them, and destroy their fences, or walls around their cities, wherein they trusted with the sword.

"And I will scatter toward every wind, and I will draw out the sword after them. And they shall know that I am the Lord, when I shall scatter them among the nations, and disperse them in the countries." But I will leave a few of them from the sword, from the famine, and from the pestilence, that they may declare all their abominations, among the heathen whither they come.* To quote all the passages which thus speak of their dispersion and sufferings, all which have been clearly fulfilled, would take up many pages. But we will leave this sorrowful subject, and *"turn from sorrow to joy, from mourning to a good day, days of fasting and joy,"* and we will see that the Lord hath not forgotten his people nor cast them off forever.



CHAPTER XXV.

Of the restoration of the Jews, and some observations respecting the millennium.

To the consolation of the Jews, and all others, there are abundant more prophecies of their restoration and

* Isaiah xlix. 13.

happiness, than of their dispersion and misery. The prophets are full on this delightful subject, and when they begin, it appears as if they were in raptures, and hardly know when to stop. "Sing O heavens, and be joyful O earth; and break forth into singing O mountains; for Jehovah hath comforted his people, and will have mercy upon his afflicted."* Awake, awake, put on thy strength, put on thy beautiful garments, O Jerusalem the holy city; for henceforth there shall no more come into thee, the uncircumcised and the unclean.

Shake thyself from the dust; arise O Jerusalem; loose thyself from the bands of thy neck, O captive daughter of Zion, for thus saith Jehovah, "ye have sold yourself for naught, and ye shall be redeemed without money."—"Break forth into joy, sing together, ye vast places of Jerusalem; for Jehovah hath comforted his people, and hath redeemed Jerusalem, Jehovah hath made bare his arm in the eyes of all the nations; and all the ends of the earth shall see the salvation of our God."†

"Behold I will gather them out of all countries, whither I have driven them. And I will bring them again into this place, and will cause them to dwell safely."‡ "Therefore say unto the house of Israel, thus saith Jehovah, I do not this for your sakes, O house of Israel! but for my holy name's sake, which ye have profaned among the heathen whither ye went; and I will sanctify my great name, which was profaned among the heathen, and in the midst of them; and the heathen shall know that I am the Lord, when I shall be sanctified in you before their eyes: for I will take you from among the heathens, and gather you out of all countries, and will bring you into your own land. Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and you shall be clean—from all your filthiness, and from all your idols will I cleanse you; a new heart, also, will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you; and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and give you a heart of flesh; and I will put my spirit within you,

* Lev. xxvi. 44.

† Isaiah lii. 1, 2, 3, 9, 10.

‡ Jer. xxxii. 37.

and cause you to walk in my statutes, and ye shall keep my judgments, and do them ; and ye shall dwell in the land that I gave your fathers ; and ye shall be my people, and I will be your God, I will also save you from all your uncleanness ; and I will call for the corn, and will increase it, and lay no famine upon you. And I will multiply the fruit of the trees, and the increase of the field, that ye shall receive no more the reproach of famine. Then the heathen that are left round about you, shall know that I Jehovah built the ruined places, and plant that that was desolate. I the Lord have spoken it, and will do it. I will increase Jerusalem with men like a flock, so shall the vast places be filled with flocks of men, and they shall know that I am the Lord."* By what is thus far quoted, it is clear that the Jews are to be restored, and that to Jerusalem. How could any person give a more plain and clear account of a people going to be restored to a country, and that country to be inhabited and cultivated by them than is here given of the Jews, but this is not the hundredth part that speaks of their restoration. Those who wish to see what is said further on this subject, may turn to, and read the following :

Deut. xxx. 3. Isaiah xi. 12—16. xlix. 13—23. liv. 1—14. lx. 1—22. lxii. 2—5, 8—12. lxvi. 10—13, 18—22. Jer. iii. 16—19. xvi. 14—16. xxx. xxxi. 31—37. xxxii. 37—42. xxxiii. 6, 9—14. Ezek. xi. 17—20. xx. 40—44. xxxiv. 13, &c. xxxvi. 8, &c. xxxvii. 21—28. xxxix. 22—29. Joel, iii. 17, 20, 21. Amos, ix. 14, 15. Micah, iv. 1—4, 6, 7. Zeph. iii. 13—20. Zech. ii. 10—13. viii. 2—21. x. 6—12. xiv. 10, 11. and many more.

All the passages that are plain on this subject, are found in, and contain 37 chapters, and 259 verses, which were written by eleven different men : but all evidently relate to the same events, and were dictated by the same spirit ; and also in the New-Testament, are several passages that clearly express the restoration of Israel. But the best of all are the following : *Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn*

* Ezek. xxxvi. 22. to 38.

war any more, but they shall beat their swords into plough shares, and spears into pruning hooks." (Isaiah ii. 2, 3, 4.) Those things instead of destroying mankind, will be made use of, so as rather to preserve human lives ; by being made into useful tools to cultivate the earth. And the Psalmist says, "*Then shall the Lord cause wars to cease unto the end of the earth ; he shall break the bow, and cut the spear asunder, and burn the (war) chariot in the fire.*"* And in that day, "*shall righteousness flourish, and abundance of peace so long as the moon endureth.*"† "*And he shall speak peace unto the heathen ; and his dominion shall be from sea to sea, and from the river even unto the ends of the earth.*"‡

What a glorious and happy time it must be, if ever this day of universal righteousness and peace, so abundantly prophesied of, takes place. When the cruel swords shall no more destroy, when selfishness, envy, pride, and wrath, (these four elements, if I may so speak of hell,) shall rule no more ! but peace, and universal good will, and harmony, "*On earth peace, and good will to man,*" shall every where prevail. When jealousy and mean suspicion, the very bane of love and friendship, shall no more exist on earth ! when *tattling, whispering, backbiting, slandering, and lying* shall be no more encouraged or practised : when covetousness, that idolatry of the present age, the love of money, shall bias the minds of men no more ; when jarring interest shall not exist ; and all the ambition and pride of kings shall vanish, and utterly cease. When families, neighbourhoods, towns, cities, countries, kingdoms, and nations, throughout the habitable globe, shall be at peace within themselves, and with each other ; and universal harmony shall every where prevail. It is certain, that such a time has never been yet, in the world. It is promised, and abundantly promised ; there is not one subject, in the whole scriptures, with that of the restoration of the Jews, so much spoken of: every

* Psalm xli. 9.

† Psalm lxxii. 7.

‡ Zech. ix. 10.

writer appears to delight in the subject ; and who would not, that are well wishers to mankind. I say this time of universal peace, called the millennium, is abundantly promised ; but that of the Gentiles, coming into it, is connected with that of the Jews. And it appears by many prophecies and passages, relating to this subject, that the Jews must be restored first. *“And it shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord shall be established upon the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills : and all nations shall flow unto it, and many people shall go and say, come ye and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob, and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths ; for out of Zion shall go forth his love, and the word of the Lord, “Then shall the heathens, that are left round about you, know, &c. from Jerusalem ;”* and there are many similar passages. But as to the Jews being restored previous to the millennium, or reign of Christ on earth, be that as it may. No one can deny, but that the Jews are concerned in it, or connected with it. And if ever such a time of universal peace, &c. takes place on earth, the Jews, according to the numerous predictions as heretofore cited, must be restored.* And I would say if the Jews are never restored to a far better state than ever before, no millennium will ever take place, any further than what is mentioned in the note below. So the world will con-

* There are those who are for spiritualising every thing. And that there will not be any outward restoration of the Jews, and no more millennium than what has commenced already, individually, that there are those who are already in the millennium state, and experience that peace of which the prophets wrote. But there have been such individuals,—righteous and holy persons, probably in every age of the world : but it must be more than this, that is meant by the numerous passages that speak of the restoration of the Jews, and reign of Christ on earth, or universal peace. It is as plain as any thing can be told, and that over and over, that it is to be universal, and as to the restoration of the Jews to Jerusalem. How can such passages as the following, besides many others, be spiritualized so as to make any sense of them ? Thus saith the Lord ; *“There shall yet old men and old women dwell in the streets of Jerusalem, and with their staff in their hands for very old age. And the streets of the city shall be full of boys and girls playing in the streets thereof.” “Behold I will save my people from the east country and from the west country ; and I will bring them, and they shall dwell*

tinue pretty much as it always has been, except in consequence of information, mankind in general, may become more philanthropic, and humane, and that is what they have already become. They are not so cruel now,

in the midst of Jerusalem, and they shall be my people," &c. How is it, and what can be the reason, that so many prophecies, have been so literally and punctually fulfilled, and yet from this time forth, all the prophecies that remain are to be accomplished in a spiritual and obscure manner, invisible to all but a few highly illuminated persons; and one will explain them one way, and another different. We see and know that the prophecies have been literally fulfilled in the dispersion of the Jews. "*I will scatter them among all nations.*" "*I will gather them from among all nations, whither I have scattered them.*" Can any thing be plainer? Is it not most reasonable to believe that the first has been fulfilled, so will the second. And when there is so much more said about their restoration, than their dispersion. And it is plain why it is so. The one was a gloomy sorrowful subject, and the other pleasing and delightful, so much so, that it almost, if not quite, makes one in this day feel the spirit of inspiration to dwell on the subject. That plain and candid writer, Winchester, says, and he may say it truly, "I dare venture to challenge all those who dissolve the plain prophecies into air, by interpreting them in a spiritual hidden sense, to defend divine revelation against infidels upon their principles."

If it be correct what the last mentioned writer says, then whoever may profess being in the millennium as commenced, (as the Swedenbergians, and some others say,) it may readily and for certain be known whether it be so or not. For he says, that all the numerous promises in the Bible are of the absolute kind, not one being conditional: for every holy temper and disposition which hitherto and the first covenant required, are positively promised in this, "*without any if thou wilt be obedient. If ye will walk contrary unto me, I will walk contrary unto you,*" &c. but not so in any of those promises, "*But ye shall be my people,*" &c. And by this mark, the promises of the second covenant, may be exactly and clearly distinguished from those of the first. "*Behold the days come,*" the latter day, "*That I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel.*" Not according to the covenant I made with their fathers in the day," &c. That was conditional, it was *if* obedient. But this shall be the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel, after those days, "*I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts,*" power will be given to refrain from all evil, and people will have no disposition or inclination to sin. "*And I will be their God and they shall be my people,*" Jer. xxxi. I say there may be power given in that day. There are those in this day, and time past, who at certain seasons and for a time, some for a longer, and some for a shorter time, who, under the influence of a good spirit, or when in a good and happy state of mind, they feel no disposition to do any evil, in thought, word, or deed, and they wish it could always be so with them. In the millennium, it may be so with all and always.

I think one thing is very extraordinary, and as strong a proof of inspiration or revelation as any thing of which I have any knowledge. I will mention it, it is probable many readers have never thought of it. viz: Although so many as eleven or twelve persons, have written on this subject, of what is called the latter day glory, and so abundantly and repeatedly, that they should all so *exactly* agree. Just as if they had all been together, consulted, and agreed so to express themselves

as we have seen in this history ; they were formerly, or not more than 100 or 200 years ago, but it is more than this of which the prophets declare, shall take place. If I was to learn, that the way was opened for the Jews to return to Jerusalem, and that they were flocking thither and rebuilding of it, and settling again in Judea, I should conclude that the millennium would soon commence ; and so would thousands of others. This appears to be a settled point with all writers I have read on this subject, that at or about the time of the restoration of the Jews, according to the prophecies, then the millennium will commence. Now as we *know* that the prophecies respecting their dispersions and sufferings *among all nations of the earth*, have been literally fulfilled, as heretofore abundantly shown ; have we not cause to believe that the prophecies that speak so full and clear of their restoration, (‘ *I will gather them from among all nations, whither I have scattered them,* ’) will also be as completely fulfilled ? As bishop Newton says, “ What hath already been accomplished is a sufficient pledge, and earnest of what is yet to come, and we have all imaginable reason to believe, since so many of the prophecies are fulfilled, that the remaining prophecies will be fulfilled also, and that there will be a great harvest of the nations. And the Jews in God’s good time, be restored to their native city and country ; and the more likely since their state is such, that they may return without much difficulty, or inconvenience, having no dominion, nor settled country, or fixed property, but few be-

alike, that in that day they should be an obedient and holy people, absolutely unconditionally, and though they had always been accustomed, as we in this day have, of hearing and knowing, that nearly all the good received, is on conditions, “ *If we do we shall receive, but if not the reverse.* Yet, not *one of them, not once* to slide into this way of speaking, but all of them, though living as to both time and place a great distance apart, yet all exactly agree in giving one and the same account, and not only as to the promises being unconditional, but in every other respect, relating to that day of union and universal peace.

If any one should wish further information on this interesting subject, or wish to hear it further treated, I would refer him to Winchester’s Lectures on the prophecies, vol. 1. p. 121 to 128, and other places in the work.

ing owners of land, to detain them much any where. We have seen the prophecy of Hosea,, iii. 4. 5. fulfilled in part, and why should we not believe it will be fulfilled in the whole?

“The children of Israel shall abide many days without a king, without a prince, and without a sacrifice, &c. and without a terephim,” or divine manifestation. *Afterward shall the children of Israel return, and seek the Lord their God, and David their king, and shall fear the Lord and his goodness in the latter day.”*

We have now exhibited a summary view of the prophecies of the Old Testament, mostly relating to the condition of the Jews; and what stronger and more convincing argument, and proof, can any one require of the truth of both the Jewish and christian religion? The Jews were once the peculiar people of God, and St. Paul saith, *“Hath God cast away his people? God forbid.”** We see that after so many ages they are still preserved, by no less than a miracle of providence, a distinct people, which is a strong proof of the truth of the prophecies, of those which have been fulfilled, and those which remain to be accomplished. We see the great empires, which in their turns subdued and oppressed the people of God, are all come to ruin; the oppressed, the poor and afflicted, survive their conquerors, the great and powerful.” (It is truly wonderful!) *“They executed the purposes of God, but not intentionally; all that they intended was to gratify their own pride and ambition, their own cruelty and revenge.—Such hath been the fatal end of the enemies and oppressors of the Jews, which ought to serve as a warning to others. If they do not believe, it is no warrant or gives no one authority to abuse, injure, or oppress them, as professed christians, of more zeal, than either knowledge or charity have heretofore done. Charity is greater than faith, and it would be worse in us to be cruel and uncharitable, than it is in them to be obstinate and unbelieving. Compassion to this unhappy*

* Rom. xi. 1.

people is not defeating the prophecies ; for only wicked nations were to harass and oppress them. The good were to shew mercy to them, and we should choose rather to be the dispensers of God's mercies, than the executioners of his judgments. Those who value the scriptures should consider that to them we are indebted for even the New Testament as well as the Old. The apostles as well as the prophets, were Jews, and of them come Christ the Saviour of the world ; and surely something of kindness and gratitude or respect is due for such infinite obligations. Though they are now broken off, yet they are not utterly cast away. And which is the most likely way to convince them of the truth and reality of the religion of Jesus : long suffering, gentleness, mildness, and goodness ; or hatred and ill usage ?”*

They are not worse than when they crucified Jesus Christ, and persecuted his apostles : but when Christ hung on the cross, in exquisite pain, he even then set an example, he felt no ill will against them, and so far from having a disposition to injure them, as thousand have had since, he cries, “ *Father forgive them, for they know not what they do.*” And the apostle says, “ *Brethren, my heart's desire and prayer to God for Israel, is, that they might be saved.*† And no doubt but they will be, and in God's time, (not in the time and will of man,) be recalled from whither they have strayed : and Jew and Gentile become united. And according to the prophet's declaration, “ *The wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid, and the calf and the young lion, and the fatling together, and a little child shall lead them.*” And nothing any more shall hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain, for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea.” SO BE IT.

* Bishop Newton on the prophecies, vol. 1.

† Romans x. 1. Isaiah xi. 6. 9.

APPENDIX.

A CONCISE STATEMENT OF CHRISTIAN PERSECUTION.

SECTION I.

Persecution of the Christians, under Pagan Rome.

IN the foregoing history we have seen how the sufferings of the Jews, in their dispersion, have been augmented by the persecution they received under both heathen and christian Rome, or from Pagans, and professed christians. And as the history of the Jewish church, is considerably connected with that of the christian, and that this work may be rather more complete, we will give a brief statement of the sufferings and persecutions of the christians, by the Pagans, and of professed christians persecuting those of the same name. If we are to judge the tree by its fruit, the church could not long have been the church of Christ; though for the first two or three centuries there might have been, and no doubt but that there were many sincere and exemplary believers, who suffered for the cause of truth.

But as the apostacy of the Jews was foretold, and that for their sins they should be dispersed; so it was clearly predicted by several of the apostles, that there should be a falling away of the church, that there should be a *departure from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrine of devils, &c.* "And as the apostacy overspread the church of Israel, for many ages, says Bishop Newton, so it hath overspread the church of Christ: the apostacy therefore is the same in both churches." But till the apostacy took place, which gradually increased, the church was persecuted by the Pagans, but when it became established by the civil power, or by Constantine the Roman emperor, and became united to a kingdom of this world, it ceased being a kingdom of Christ: and thus, when the church became established by the civil power, the professed christians then became persecutors, and paid the Pagans back again in their own coin, and also persecuted the Jews, and all those who departed from the established church, or professed religion one side of it. And when persecution begins, religion ends. Christ never used any thing that looked like force or violence, except once, and that was to drive bad men out of the temple, and not to drive them in.

It cannot be pleasant to any man of humanity and tenderness to read the dreadful scenes of horror, cruelty, and devastation that will here occur: but to show what superstition, bigotry, and fanaticism are capable of producing, and for the purpose of holding up the spirit of persecution to contempt, and that it may be seen, with the foregoing history, how astonishingly cruel mankind have been, and often in order to cause a detestation of an evil, is to hold it up to view; we shall give a detail of the principal events. Of the persecutions of the christians by the Jews, we may be short, as the New-Testament gives an account how the first christians suffered for the cause of truth. It was they who persecuted Jesus Christ even unto death. After his death the apostles suffered every evil which the malice of the Jews could invent,

and their mad zeal execute. They who read the acts of the apostles, learn, that like their master, they were despised and rejected of men, and treated with the utmost indignity and contempt. They were also persecuted by the Pagans, and most of those who suffered martyrdom, it was by them that they were put to death. Whether Matthew suffered martyrdom in Persia, or died in Abyssinia after he had preached there, is not known. It is stated that the Alexandrians seized St. Mark in the pulpit while preaching, bound and dragged him through the streets, and that next day he died. Luke, after suffering much persecution from Jews and Gentiles, is supposed to have died a natural death, in the 80th or 84th year of his age, about the year of Christ, 70. It is said that St. John was, in about the year A. D. 95, cast into a chaldron of boiling oil, and coming out unhurt, he was banished to the island of Patmos, to be starved to death. Under the emperor Nerva, he was recalled from exile, and returned to Ephesus, preached the gospel there till he died, about 100 years old, some say 120, (see page 95.)

Historians usually reckon ten general persecutions, the first of which was under the emperor Nero, 31 years after our Lord's ascension, when that emperor, having set fire to the city of Rome, (see page 43,) threw the odium of that execrable action on the christians. And all those who openly acknowledged themselves to be of that sect, were apprehended; immense multitudes were discovered, all of whom were convicted. Their deaths were aggravated by cruel derision and sport; for they were either covered with the skins of wild beasts, and torn in pieces by devouring dogs, and others fastened to crosses, and wrapped up in combustible garments, that when the day light failed, they might like torches serve to dispel the darkness of the night. For this wicked and tragical scene, Nero lent his own gardens; and exhibited at the same time the public diversions of the circus; and he standing as a spectator, while the shrieks of women burning to ashes, supplied music for his horrid ears.

Orosious writeth of Nero, that he was the first in Rome who raised up persecution against the christians, and not only in Rome, but in all the provinces thereof, thinking thereby to abolish the name of christians in all places.

In this persecution the apostle Peter, suffered death, in about the year after Christ, 36. It is said he was crucified with his head downwards, himself so requesting, "because," said he, "I am unworthy to be crucified after the same manner as my Lord was."

Paul, the apostle, after his great travel and labours in preaching the gospel in divers countries, at last suffered martyrdom in this same persecution, under Nero. He was beheaded, some writers say next year after Peter was crucified, on the same day of the year, which was the 37th year after the passion of Christ. It was about this time that the apostle James was put to death. The Jews being exceedingly enraged at the success of the gospel, it is said that St. James was ordered to ascend one of the galleries of the temple, and from thence inform the people, that they had without ground believed Jesus of Nazareth, to be the Messiah. He complied so far, as to get up, and then cried with a loud voice, that Jesus was the Son of God, and gave some further testimony of him; many believed, but while he was speaking, the Pharisees tumbled him down. He was sorely bruised, but not so bad, but that he got on his knees and prayed for his murderers, amidst a shower of stones which they cast at him, till one beat out his brains with a fuller's club. To the death of this just man, many Jews ascribed the ruin of their nation, or the destruction of Jerusalem. The Jewish Talmud* ascribes a variety of miracles to James the disciple of Jesus, there called the carpenter.

The second general persecution was under Domitian, in the year 95, when 40,000 were supposed to have suffered martyrdom. He was a violent persecutor of both Jews and Christians. (See page 97.)

The third began in the third year of Trajan in the year 100, and was carried on with great violence for several years. This emperor was a great opposer of the christian religion, and very cruel to the Jews as well as towards the christians,* and caused this third persecution. Pliny, the second, a heathen philosopher, a man learned and famous, seeing the lamentable slaughter of the christians, and thereby being moved to pity, wrote to Trajan.—Trajan having read this epistle returned for answer, “that it was his mind, that the christians should not be sought after; but if they were brought and convicted, they should suffer execution.” Tertulian, a writer, speaking of this answer to Pliny, says, “Oh! confused sentence, he would not have them sought for as men innocent, and yet would have them punished as men guilty.” This cruel wretch sent a command to Jerusalem, that whomsoever could be found of the stock of David should be inquired for and put to death. In this persecution suffered Phocas bishop of Pontus, whom Trajan, because he would not worship their god neptune, caused to be cast into a hot lime-kiln; and afterwards to be put into a scalding bath, where he ended his life in the cause of Christ. Then also Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, was apprehended and sent to Rome, where he was murdered by wild beasts; and besides these many thousands more he caused to be destroyed. And no doubt he will have *his reward*.† At last he was seized with a terrible distemper, which in a few days terminated his mortal career. It is said he had many good qualities, but no matter how many; if a man is a persecuter that spoils all.

Adrian the successor of Trajan, was also a persecuter of both Jews and christians.‡ His disease and pains were such before he died, that he earnestly entreated his domestic’s to despatch him.§

The fourth persecution was under Antonius, he was a philosopher, but it was that philosophy which the apostle calls vain. And there were many very good traits in his character, but he was a violent persecuter of the christians. They were banished and plundered, like unto the Jews, as we have read, and forbidden to show their heads, reproached, beaten, hurried from place to place: imprisoned and stoned, among those who were put to death was Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, who was burnt. About this time also suffered Blandinus and Pontius a youth of fifteen years of age, who, defying their idols, and constantly cleaving to, and acknowledging Christ, were put to all the torments their enraged enemies could devise, till at last the youth expired. Blandinus was first cruelly whipped, and then thrown to the wild beasts; they not destroying of him, he then was roasted on a grid iron; and at last slain.

The christians enjoyed some respite for some time before the fifth persecution, which commenced under Severus, (A D 127,) who put forth a proclamation that no christian should live. By which a great persecution was stirred up on every side, and a great number suffered martyrdom. The Jews fared but little better. In his reign happened the martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas, and their companions. Perpetua had an infant at the breast,

* See page 99.

† See page 101.

‡ Some say there is no hell, or not any punishment hereafter; but some have been so very wicked and cruel, that it appears to me it would be unjust to let them pass unpunished, except they repent.

§ His last words were the following, though not his composition. I insert them, for a beautiful specimen of philosophical contemplation.

O fleeting spirit, wondering fire,
That long hast warn’d my tender breast;
Whilst thou no more my frame inspire?
No more a pleasing cheerful guest?
Whither, ah whither! art thou flying?
To what dark, undiscovered shore
Thou seemest all trembling, shivering, dying;
And wit and humour are no more.

and the other was just delivered at the time they were put to death. These two beautiful and amiable young women, mothers of infant children; after suffering much in prison, were exposed before an insulting multitude, to a wild cow, who mangled their bodies in a most horrid manner; after which they were carried to a conspicuous place and put to death with the sword.

The crimes and accusations that were laid to the charge of the christians, by their persecutors, were that they refused to worship idols, and that they professed the name of Christ; and besides, all the calamities and evils that happened in the world, as wars, famines, pestilence, &c. were imputed to the christians.

After this persecution the church had peace for about 44 years. During which time it greatly increased in number, and decreased in the spirit and life of religion. And contention, pride and ambition began to arise till Maximinus humbled them, by what is called the sixth persecution: which began about the year 136. During his reign, the christians suffered in the most barbarous manner; for though the edict of this tyrant extended only to the bishops and leaders of the church, yet its shocking effects reached much further; as it animated the heathen priests, the magistrates, and the multitude, against christians of every rank and order.

Many christians being met together, the emperor sent orders to burn the meeting house and all the people in it. But first a crier was commanded to proclaim, that whosoever would sacrifice to Jupiter, should have their lives spared, otherwise they should be all burnt: one stepped up, and boldly, in name of all the rest said, "We are all christians, and believe that Christ is our Saviour, and we will sacrifice to none but him." Hereupon the fire was kindled, and men, women, and children, were burnt in that place. The punishment that was endured by the christians was so great and horrible, scorching, racking, horrible scraping; and many were crowded on board of old boats, and carried out and sunk in the sea. Some were tied to trees with their heads downwards, others hung by their middle till they died with hunger. Numbers were thrown alive to wild beasts, and torn and tossed by them till they died.

The seventh persecution, which was the most dreadful ever known, began under the emperor Dacius, in the year 250. He published most terrible and cruel edicts, that the whole race of christians should be either extirpated or forced by tortures of various kinds to return to the pagan worship. Hence in all the provinces of the Roman empire, multitudes of christians, were during the space of two years, put to death by the most horrid punishments, which an ingenious barbarity could invent. It cannot be expressed, says a writer, what numbers of martyrs suffered; what blood was shed through cities and countries for the name of Christ.

As a specimen of the cruelty towards them. One Peter was hoisted up naked, and so beaten and torn with whips that his bones might be seen; then they poured on him salt and vinegar, and afterwards roasted him on a slow fire. (My God what cruelty, and all for nothing, having committed no crime, nor done any thing to injure any one; only prayed for them, that God would forgive them.) Great numbers of the christians, dismayed at the approach of such lingering torments; did exactly as we have read the Jews did, to avoid such punishment, made an outward profession of paganism, by sacrificing, or by burning incense before the images of their gods. And as soon as the storm blew over, they returned to christianity, as the Jews did from an outward profession of christianity to Judaism. When persecution thus raged against the christians, the Jews were *neglected*, or as Mosheim says, in his Ecclesiastical History: "When the christians were persecuted, the Jews were treated with less severity and contempt, on account of their enmity against the christians." In persecuting the christians, the Jews readily united with the pagans.

The persecution still continued under the emperor Gallus, the successor of Decius. He enlivened the fire, which was beginning to burn with less fury.

The pestilence that was at this time, the pagan priests took advantage of, to revive the flame of persecution, by persuading the people that it was on account of the lenity used towards the christians, that the Gods sent down their judgments upon the nation. In the year 254, Valerian being declared emperor, caused the fury of persecution to cease, and restored the church to a state of peace, which continued until the fifth year of his reign, when by means of Macrianus, a superstitious and cruel bigot to paganism, he being the emperor's chief counsellor, influenced him to become a persecutor of the christians, when commenced the eighth persecution, in the year 259. The christians were forbidden to assemble themselves together, and their bishops and preachers were sent into banishment. And a great number of the christians in all the different provinces of the empire were put to death. The most eminent of those who suffered in this persecution, were Cyprian bishop of Carthage; Sixtus bishop of Rome, and some others, were barbarously consumed by fire.

Laurence followed Sixtus, and after many cruel handlings, he was lain on the gridiron, but what he endured was with such patience, that the emperor seemed more tormented than he, though the flesh broiled, the others heart burned.

I think this was the martyr, who, after one side was roasted, said,

Turn tyrant taste and eat,
And see if raw or roasted
It be the better meat.

The ninth persecution was under Aurelian in 274, but this was inconsiderable compared with others before.

The tenth persecution began in the 19th year of Dioclesian, for he being rather averse to slaughter and blood shed, it was not till then that the pagan priests could persuade him to turn persecutor; which was by his, too readily believing the lies that was told him about the christians, by their enemies; charging them with crimes of which they were innocent.

In the year 303, an order was obtained from the emperor, by the intercession of the pagan priests, to burn all the christians books and writings! and to pull down their public places of worship. Those who would not deliver up their sacred books were put to death.

By another edict, all bishops and ministers of the church were ordered to be cast into prison. Nor did his inhuman violence end here; for a third edict was soon issued, by which it was ordered, that all kinds of torments should be employed, and the most insupportable punishments invented to force them to renounce their religion by sacrificing to the heathen gods: for it was expected that if the bishops, and leaders of the church could be made to yield, their different flocks, would be easily made to follow their example. A vast number of persons of piety and learning, were horribly put to death throughout the whole Roman empire. Some were punished in such a shameful manner as would be indecent to mention.

In the second year of this horrible persecution, A. D. 304, a fourth edict was proclaimed, at the instigation of the inveterate enemies of the christian name. By it the magistrates were ordered to force all, professing christianity, without distinction of rank or sex, to sacrifice to the gods, and were authorised to employ all sorts of torments, in order to drive them to renounce their religion. It is said, that the diligence and zeal of the Roman magistrates in the execution of this inhuman edict, had nearly proved fatal to the christian name.

In this dreadful persecution which lasted 10 years, it is stated that 17,000 were slain in the time of one month; and during the continuance of the whole time above mentioned, of this persecution, it is reckoned that not less than 144,000 died in various cruel ways, by their persecutors, besides 700 000 that died through the fatigues of banishment, &c. in the public works to which they were condemned.

At length their persecutors imagined that their work was finished; so scattered and concealed were the remaining adherents to christianity, and so lu-

merous the victims, which had been immolated on the altar of superstition, that they arrogantly boasted in the public inscriptions, and coins, that they had entirely destroyed the name and superstition of the christians, and had restored the worship of the gods. But there were many not destroyed, but hid.

Many of their persecutors came to a miserable end. Decius in his escape from the Goths, with whom he had been to war, plunged into a morass, in which he was so completely ingulphed, that his body could never be found. Valarian, was taken prisoner by Saper, king of Persia, and that haughty monarch made Valarian his foot stool whenever he mounted his horse; and after seven years of degradation and insult, picked out his eyes, and fled him alive.

Dioclesian lost his senses, and soon after died. In all my reading I don't remember a blessing attending a cruel person or persecutor, unless some that have bitterly and sincerely repented.

SECTION II. *Persecution under christian Rome.*

In the year 306, Constantine was chosen emperor, in and about the year 313 it is said he embraced the christian religion; but if we are to judge of men by their conduct, christianity with him was nothing more than an outward profession. Persecution now entirely ceased, and Constantine surrounded the religion which he had embraced with all possible splendour, and churches which had been demolished, were now rebuilt in the most magnificent style. Many new ones were erected in all the principal cities in the empire, and decorated, not inferior to those which had long embellished the pagan temples. All heathen magistrates were put out of office, and only professed christians were advanced to places of authority, all over the empire. And christian bishops and the clergy in general, were loaded with wealth and worldly honours. Heathen temples were destroyed, and the heathen priests were dispossessed and banished; and now in their turn, they became persecutors of the Pagans; and that is not the worst, they became persecutors of one another. The weapons which their heathen persecutors had just laid down, were now seized by different parties in the church, and turned against each other; and amidst the "pompous apparatus, the superstitious rites, and unmeaning forms of piety," which prevailed in the church, during the splendid administration of the first professing christian emperor, little can be discerned of the spirit of the true religion, or real piety. Soon were fatal errors propagated, and defended by many professed christians; monastic institutions, and many rites and ceremonies, that had never been before, were brought into use, and human traditions and the commandments of men in many respects, superseded the simple gospel of Christ, to which they appear to have become strangers. And many sincere souls, called heretics, who would not unite with the pride and foppery of the now national established church, were persecuted unto death. So many, from the time the church was established and protected by the civil power, that Bishop Newton says truly, "If Pagan Rome has slain her thousands, Christian Rome has slain her tens of thousands."

Most protestant writers date the beginning of the reign of Antichrist, or the great apostacy, spoken of by more than one of the apostles, from the reign of Constantine, or soon after. And if we may judge the members of the established church, by their contention and quarrelling, by their wicked lives, and by thousands and tens of thousands, being tortured by them, and by every way that a barbarous ingenuity could invent, and cruelly put to death; it was Antichrist to all intents and purposes.

In short numerous were the cruel persecutions of the different sects, from Constantine's time to the reformation, particularly a sect called the Waldenses, which were numerous and who affirmed that the church of Rome was not the church of Christ, but an assembly of ungodly men, and that the pope was Antichrist. And when Martin Luther arose, and opposed the errors, vice,

and ambition of the church of Rome, and the sentiments of this man began to spread, the pope and his clergy joined all their forces to hinder their progress, and the fire of persecution greatly increased. A general council of the clergy was called : the famous council of Trent, which was held for 18 successive years, for the purposes of establishing popery in greater splendour, and preventing the reformation. The friends of the reformation were excommunicated and many cruelly persecuted. Luther was sought after, and his life often in danger ; though at last he died in his bed in peace.

From time to time innumerable schemes were suggested to overthrow the reformation, and wars were set on foot for the same purpose. The inquisition which was established in the 12th century against the Waldenses, was now more effectually set to work, and many were imprisoned and tortured in the most cruel manner.

Terrible persecutions were carried on in various parts of Germany, and even in Bohemia, which continued about 30 years, and the blood of the protestants was said to flow like rivers of water.

The countries of Poland, Lithuania, and Hungary were in a similar manner deluged with protestant blood.

In Holland and in the other Low Countries, for many years the most amazing cruelties were exercised, under the merciless and cruel hands of the Spaniards, to whom the inhabitants in that part of the world were then in subjection.

One called Father Paul, observes, that these Belgic Martyrs were 50,000. But Grotius and others states that there were 100,000, who suffered by the hands of the executioner.

But no country, perhaps, ever produced more martyrs than France. After many cruelties had been exercised against the protestants, there was a most violent persecution of them in the year 1572, in the reign of Charles IX. Many of the principal Protestants were invited to Paris under a solemn oath of safety, upon the occasion of the marriage of the king of Navarre, with the French king's sister. The queen dowager of Navarre, a zealous Protestant, was poisoned by a pair of gloves before the marriage was solemnized.

Coligni, admiral of France, was basely murdered in his own house, and then thrown out of the window : all to gratify the duke of Guise ; his head was afterwards cut off, and sent to the king and queen's mother ; and his body after a thousand indignities offered to it, was hung by the feet on a gibbet. After this the murderers ravaged the whole city of Paris, and butchered in three days, above ten thousand lords, gentlemen, presidents and people of all ranks.

A horrible scene of things, says Thucanus, an historian, when the streets, and passages resounded with the noise of those that met together for murder and plunder ; the groans of those who were dying, and the shrieks of such as were just going to be butchered, were every where heard ; the bodies of the slain thrown out of the windows ; the courts and chambers of the houses filled with them ; bodies of others dragged through the streets ; their blood running through the channels in such plenty, that torrents seemed to empty themselves in the neighbouring river ; in short an immense multitude of men and women, maidens and children were all involved in one common destruction ; and the gates and entrances of the king's palace all besmeared with their blood. From the city of Paris the massacre spread throughout the whole kingdom. In the city of Meaux they threw above 200 into jail ; and after they had ravished and killed a great number of women, and plundered the houses of the Protestants, they executed their fury on those they had imprisoned ; and calling them one by one, they were killed as Thuanus expresses, like sheep in a market. In Orleans they murdered above 500 men, women and children, and enriched themselves by plundering their property. The same cruelties were practised at Angers, Trojes, Bonges, La Charite, and especially at Lyons, where they inhumanly destroyed above 800 Protestants ; children hanging to their parents ; parents embracing their children ; and the infernals putting ropes about the necks of some, dragging them through the streets, and throwing them, mangled, torn and half dead into the river. According to Thuanus, above 30,000 Protestants were destroyed in this massa-

cre ; or, as others affirm, above 100,000. But what aggravates the scenes with still greater wantonness and cruelty, and shows what wretches mankind are without religion, or with a religion that makes them worse than none, was the manner in which the news was received at Rome. When the letters of the pope's legate were read in the assembly of the cardinals, by which he assured the pope that all was transacted by the express will and command of the king, it was immediately decreed that the pope should march with his cardinals to the church of St. Mark, and in the most solemn manner, (satanic solemnity,) give thanks to God for so great a blessing conferred on the church of Rome and the christian, (anti-christian) world ; and that on the Monday after solemn mass, (which could please no one but satan,) should be celebrated in the church of Minerva, at which pope Gregory XIII. and his cardinals,* were present, and that a jubilee should be published throughout the whole christian world, and the cause of it declared to be, for to return thanks to God for the destruction of the enemies of the truth, and church in France. (It would have been much more proper, and nearer the truth to have said, "to return thanks to the devil, for the destruction of the enemies of our falsehood, and of our anti-christian church.")

In the evening the cannon of St. Angelo were fired to testify the public (satanic) joy ; the whole city was illuminated with bonfires ; and no one sign omitted that was usually made for the greatest victories obtained in favour of the Romish church !!! All this might be acceptable to the enemy of mankind, whose delight is to devour and destroy, but never to a being who *delighteth in mercy*. How could people profess to be christians, and act so contrary to the precepts and example of Christ ? I can't think at present, of any better way to answer this question, in short, than that "*darkness had covered the earth, and gross darkness the minds of the people.*"†

The king, under whose influence this dreadful havoc had been committed, never enjoyed his health after, but died in about two years, his blood gushing daily through the pores of his skin ; so that he expired, as it were, weltering in his own gore, as an evident Judgment of God upon him.

Fear haunts the guilty mind with horrid views,
And Providence the murderer pursues :
Those, by whose means the innocent are slain,
Shall live detested, and expire in pain.

But all these persecutions were, however, far exceeded by those which took place in the time of Lewis XIV. Here we see the lengths to which men can go in cruelty, when under the influence of an evil spirit, bigotry and superstition, and which is enough to excite in every reader a detestation of that spirit and those principles by which they were governed. Contrasts often have a powerful effect, and no greater contrast than the following, when compared with those amiable dispositions, of love, tenderness and kindness.

In about the year 1686, the troopers, soldiers and dragoons, went into the Protestants houses, plundered them of their property, and that which they could not easily carry away they defaced and destroyed. They broke their looking-glasses, threw about their corn, and drank their liquors, and that which they could not drink they flung away. And thus in four or five days, the Protestants were stripped of a million of money. They turned the dining rooms of gentlemen into stables for horses, and treated the owners of the houses were they quartered with the greatest cruelty, lashing them about not suffering them to eat or drink. When they saw the blood and sweat run down their faces, they sluiced them with dirty water, and, over the heads of some they put kettles turned bottom upwards, and made a continual beating upon

* That is the chief governors of the Romish church, and counsellors to the pope.

† Isaiah lx. 2.

them, till the poor creatures lost their senses. At Negreplisse a town near Montaulon, they hung up Isaac Favin a Protestant citizen of that place by his arm pits, and tormented him a whole night by pinching and tearing of his flesh with pincers. They made a great fire round about a boy, twelve years old, who, with his hands raised up, cried out, "My God help me." And when they found the youth resolved to die, rather than renounce his religion, they snatched him from the fire just as he was upon the point of being burnt. In several places the soldiers applied red hot irons, to the hands and feet of men, and the breasts of women. At Nantz, they hung up several men and maids by the feet, and others by their arm pits, and thus exposed them to public view entirely naked. They bound mothers, that gave suck to posts, and let their sucking infants lie languishing near them and in sight, for several days and nights, crying and gaping for life. Some they bound before a great fire, and being half roasted let them go, a punishment worse than death. Amidst thousands of hideous cries, they hung up men and women by the hair, and others by their feet, and then smoaked them till they were suffocated. They tied some under the arms with ropes and then plunged them repeatedly into wells. They bound others and put them to the torture, and some of them they so filled with spirits with tunnels, that the fumes of it took away their reason; when they made them say they consented to be catholics. They stripped them naked, and after numerous indignities stuck them with pins and needles from head to foot. Some places they tied husbands and wives to their bed posts, and ravished their daughters with impunity. They blew up men and women till they burst them. If any to escape these barbarities, endeavoured to save themselves by flight, they were pursued and shot like wild beasts, and they were forbidden to depart the kingdom, (a cruelty never practised by Nero or Dioclesian,) upon pain of confiscating of their estates, the galleys, the lash, or perpetual imprisonment. With these scenes of desolation and horror the popish clergy feasted their eyes and made only matter of sport and laughter, just as if they had been on an hunt for wild beasts.

Almost every part of the civilized world has been drenched with the blood of Protestants. In Ireland between 2, and 300,000 Protestants of every sect and denomination, were cruelly murdered in a few days, in different parts of the kingdom. This massacre began on the 23d of October, 1641, early in the morning of which day, the conspirators were in arms all over the kingdom, the mob, the swinish multitude. See note, page 181. Having secured the principal Protestants and seized their effects, they murdered the common people in cold blood; no age, no sex, no condition was spared. The wife weeping for her butchered husband, and children for their parents, had their tears dried up only by being butchered themselves. The old, the young, the vigorous, the infirm, underwent the same fate. Flight was in vain, they were pursued in the woods and mountains, and killed like wild beasts. And those that were hid so as not to be found perished with cold and hunger.

The commodious habitations of the planters were laid in ashes, or levelled with the ground, and where the afflicted owners had shut themselves up in their houses, and were preparing for defence, they perished in the flames, together with their wives and children. Many were put to death in the most horrid manner, and such as could only be invented by demons instead of men. Great numbers were fastened to horses tails, and the beast being set on full gallop, by their riders, the wretched victims were dragged along till they expired. Some they whipped to death, others they stripped naked, and exposed them to all manner of insult. Many hundred were drowned in rivers, some had their throats cut, others were dismembered. With some the execrable villains made themselves sport, trying who could cut the deepest into English flesh; wives and young virgins were shamefully abused in presence of their parents. They taught their children, to strip and kill the protestants children. Women were fastened with their backs to posts, and being stripped to their waist, the inhuman monsters cut off their breasts with shears, and in this position they left them till they expired with loss of blood. Such was the worse

than savage ferocity of these barbarians, that even unborn infants, were dragged forth to become victims to their rage. Many an unhappy mother, near the time of delivery, were hung naked on the branches of trees, and their bodies cut open, their innocent offspring were thrown to dogs and swine, and to increase the horrid scene, they would oblige the husband to be a spectator before he suffered himself. But enough for that place, we will now turn to and take a brief view of persecution in England. Though Wickliffe, the first reformer, died peacefully in his bed, yet such was the malice and spirit of persecuting Rome, that after the effect of his preaching and doctrines was more fully seen than in his life time, and having done so much injury to popery that his bones were ordered to be dug up, after having laid undisturbed for 40 years, and burnt, and the ashes cast into an adjoining brook. In the reign of Henry VIII. A. D. 1555, Bilney, Latimer, and many others were burnt: but when queen Mary came to the throne, the most severe persecutions commenced. Hoper and John Rogers, were burnt in a slow fire. Saunders was cruelly tormented a long time at the stake, before he expired. Taylor was put in a barrel of pitch, and fire set to it. In the year 1555, 67 persons were burnt in a few days, by that infamous cruel Bishop, Bonner; among whom were those famous protestants, Bradford, Ridley, and Philpot.

In the following year 1556, eighty five persons were burnt; among whom were several women, and while one was in the flames, being pregnant, and near the time of delivery, her child was born, which being snatched out by some of the observers, being more human than her persecutors, the magistrate ordered the babe to be again thrown into the fire and burnt. "Thus," says an author, "the unborn child was burnt for heresy! O God what is human nature when left to itself? alas! dispositions, ferocious, and infernal, usurp and reign in the heart of man!" After this, there were soon eighty more burnt; and the whole of the number who thus suffered death for the reformed religion under queen Mary, were 277 persons, of whom were 5 bishops, 21 clergymen, 8 gentlemen, 84 tradesmen, 100 husbandmen, labourers, and servants, 56 women, and four children; besides these many were whipped, and 16 perished in prison. The more extraordinary as this was all done under the reign of a woman, who one might conclude would have some tenderness, especially for her own sex. But no, an Antichristian religion hardens the heart, and this is the cause of so much cruelty by the Antichristians of those days. Mary, like all other persecutors, never prospered afterwards; but after a short and wicked reign of 5 years, 4 months, and 11 days, she died, as she owned herself, of that corrosive and mental torture, a broken heart.

The fatal day, on which Ridley, and some others suffered at Oxford, the old duke of Norfolk paid a visit to bishop Gardner, at his house in London, in consequence of his being invited to dine with him, at that time. But so eager was this bloody prelate to glut his ears with the news of the death of these sufferers, that he postponed his usual time of dining, saying, "he would not eat till he received positive assurance of the execution of the sentence which he knew was to be put in practice that day at Oxford."

Accordingly, as soon as the messenger arrived, which was not till four o'clock, and had given him assurance of his cruel wishes being completed, he ordered dinner, and sitting down to it with great apparent satisfaction, said, "now my lord duke we can set down, and refresh ourselves with pleasure." But observe the hand of God on this impious priest, no sooner had he swallowed a mouthful, than he was seized with a violent fit of illness, that he was removed from the table, and lived in great distress for 15 days, and then died a miserable death, as many such cruel persecutors had done before.

Scotland also for many years together has been the scene of persecution by the papists. Also Spain, Italy, and the vallies of Piedmont, and almost every other place in Europe, popery, we see, has had the greatest hand in this cruel wicked work. It has to answer, also, for the lives of millions of Jews, Mahometans, and barbarians. When the Moors conquered Spain, in the eighth century, they allowed the christians the free exercise of their religion. But

in the fifteenth century, when the Moors were overcome, and Ferdinand subdued the Moriscoes, the descendants of the above Moors, many thousands were forced to be baptised, or burnt, massacred or banished, and their children sold for slaves; besides enumerable Jews who have shared the same cruelties, chiefly by means of the infernal inquisition. A worse slaughter if possible was made among the natives of Spanish America, where 15,000,000 are said to have been sacrificed to the genius of popery in about 40 years. It has been computed that from first to last, 50,000,000 of protestants, have been the victims of the persecutions of the papists, and put to death for their religious opinions.

Well, therefore, might St. John say, that at Mystic Babylon's destruction, "*was found in her the blood of prophets, of saints, and all that was slain upon the earth.*"

SECTION III. *Persecutions by the Protestants.*

No sooner than the protestant religion become established by the civil power, or by the accession of queen Elizabeth to the throne, which was in the year 1558, than the protestants of the established church became persecutors. Just like as we have seen, when the Romish church was established by Constantine, and as the papists then persecuted the pagans and dissenters from the established church, so the episcopalian protestants according to their power persecuted in their turn, the papists and their dissenters from the protestant established church.

The first dissenters were known by the name of Puritants, and afterwards by that of protestant Nonconformist, i. e. those who would not conform to the discipline and rites of the church of England. If any one refused to consent to the least ceremony in worship, he was cast into prison, where many excellent men perished. Two Anabaptists, were burnt, and many banished.—Queen Elizabeth put two Brownists to death, and it is said that more sanguinary laws were made in her reign, than in any of her predecessors, and her hands were stained with the blood of both papists and puritants. James I. succeeded Elizabeth; he published a proclamation, commanding all protestants to conform strictly, and without any exception to all the rites and ceremonies of the church of England. Above 500 clergy were immediately silenced or degraded for non-complying. The dissenters were distressed and fined. Two persons were burnt for heresy, one at Smithfield, and the other at Litchfield; worn out with endless vexations, and unceasing persecutions many retired into Holland, and from thence to America. A judicious historian states that in this and the following reigns, 22,000 were banished from England, by persecution, to America.

In Charles the first, time, arose the persecuting Laud, who persecuted many. Dr. Leighton for writing a book against the Episcopal government, was fined £10,000, perpetual imprisonment and whipping. He was whipped and placed in the pillory; one of his ears cut off, one side of his nose slit; and then branded on the cheek with a red hot iron, with the letters S. S. whipped a second time and placed on the pillory. A fortnight afterwards, his sores being not yet healed, he had the other ear cut off, the other side of his nose slit, and the other cheek branded. He continued in prison till the long parliament set him at liberty.

About four years afterwards, Wm. Prynne, a barrister, for a book he wrote against the sports on the sabbath was deprived from preaching, set in the pillory, had his ears cut off, imprisoned for life, and fined £5,000. It would require a volume to detail all the cruel persecutions under the Episcopacy, by loathsome dungeons, where many ended their days, and by many being condemned, either to be hanged or burnt. Those dissenters called the Brownists, in their petition and lamentable complaint to parliament, in the year 1592, say, that, "No felons, no murderers, no traitors in England were so cruelly dealt with."

And also the Presbyterians, when their government came to be established in England, were not clear from the charge of persecution. In 1648, the parliament became ruled by them, and published an ordinance against heresy; and those who maintained, published, or defended certain articles which they called errors, should suffer death. Under what was called the conventicle act, and Oxford act, it is recorded that "8,000 persons were imprisoned; and reduced to want, and many to the grave." At which time many of the people called Quakers, were grievously persecuted, both by Episcopalians and Presbyterians. And it is not so great wonder when two such great reformers as Martin Luther and Calvin, furnished examples in their own conduct, though in other respects, they, and many others, might be good or well meaning and sincere men, yet it is evident that neither of them, as well as others in that day, did not understand the rights of conscience. So far from it, that Luther speaking of those whom he deemed heretics, says, "They ought to be confined and shut up in some certain place, and put under restraint as mad men." And in the same work, (in his account of the Popish Church, p. 28,) speaking of the Jews, he says, "their synagogues should be levelled with the ground; their houses destroyed; their books of prayer, and of the Talmud, and even those of the Old-Testament taken from them; their Rabbies be forbid to teach, and forced by hard labour to get their bread; and if they would not submit to this, to be banished, as was formerly practised in France and Spain." And Calvin says, "a heretic deserves to be burnt wherever he is found."—And his conduct towards Servetus is universally known.

But the most astonishing of all is, that those who had preached and wrote against persecution, who had exclaimed against it as a great evil, and who had fled from England, to New-England, in America, to avoid persecution, and to enjoy liberty of conscience, should, notwithstanding, become persecutors themselves; first of the conformist, and then of the Quakers. To give a detail of all the abuse, by being set in the stocks, by being cruelly beaten and whipped, and that often at the cart's tail from one town, or village to another, and that of tender women, and then turned into the wilderness to perish with cold and hunger; forbidding any one under a penalty of £5, to entertain or afford a Quaker the least sustenance; and by fines, and cruel imprisonment, in which many died, and by being branded, and having their ears cut off, and otherwise disfigured, and by banishment, hanging, &c. would extend to several hundred pages. Which persecution continued till king Charles was informed by one of the Quakers, "that there was a vein of innocent blood opened in his dominions, which if it were not stopped, would overrun all."—To which the king replied, "but I will stop that vein." Orders were immediately issued by him for that purpose, which was in Sept. 1661. And the ship arrived at Boston with the same, on the 9th of December, the same year, when the persecution of these people ceased in America, but not entirely throughout England and Wales, &c. till the year 1696. And these people have been the last that have been much persecuted at least not unto death.—And may this wicked cruel spirit, (with that of bigotry, prejudice, and superstition, which altogether has metamorphosed men into infernals, and entirely extinguished all feelings of humanity and tenderness,) be totally banished from off the earth, never more to be known as long as the sun and moon endureth. And that truth, love, and forbearance may be substituted in the place thereof, and universally prevail, with that of all the human family, doing to each other, as all would in like circumstances wish to be done by.—Which may God of his infinite mercy Grant.

THE END.

LETTERS

TO THE

J E W S ;

INVITING THEM TO AN AMICABLE DISCUSSION OF THE EVIDENCES OF CHRISTIANITY.

SECOND AMERICAN, FROM THE SECOND BRITISH EDITION.

BY JOSEPH PRIESTLEY, L. L. D. F. R. S.

Ac. Imp. Petrop. R. Paris. Holm. Taurin. Aurel. Med. Paris. Harlem. Cantab. Americ. Et. Philad. Socius.

OH! HOUSE OF JACOB, COME YE, AND LET US WALK IN THE LIGHT OF THE LORD.....*Isaiah ii. 5.*

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LETTERS

TO THE

J E W S.

LETTER I.

*Of the peculiar Privileges of the Jewish Nation, and
the Causes of their Prejudices against Christianity.*

CHILDREN of the flock of Abraham, and heirs of the sure promises of God. Bear, I intreat you, with the serious address of a Christian, who reverences your nation, is a believer in the future glory of it, and is a worshipper of the God of your fathers, without admitting any other to share in the rights of divinity with him.

I admire your persevering faith in the promises of God, notwithstanding the most discouraging appearances. In this you shew yourselves to be the worthy sons of the great patriarch from whom you are descended. You have suffered more than any other nation under Heaven, but you justly believe it is no more than was foretold by your great prophet Moses, and what you have brought upon yourselves. And, believing in the equity of the divine proceedings, and in the veracity of that God, who has distinguished you as *his peculiar people*, you cannot entertain a doubt, but that whenever the cause of his displeasure is removed, he will turn from his fierce anger, and remember the covenant which he made with your fathers, to be a God

to them, and to their seed after them. He will make a full end of all other nations, that shall persecute and oppress you ; but you he will never utterly destroy. He will only correct you in measure, as we read, Jer. xxx. 11. xlv. 28.

Your dislike of christians, and your abhorrence of their faith, is not to be wondered at, when it is considered how much you have suffered by their cruel oppression, and how contrary their doctrines have been to the fundamental principles of your religion. You are the worshippers of the one living and true God. But, besides him, the generality of christians have paid divine honours to Jesus Christ, and in a great measure also to those dead men, whom they have called *Saints*, who were no more the proper objects of worship than images of wood and stone, the work of men's hands. But at this day the cruel usage you have met with from christian nations is happily much abated. Christians in general, and especially the more civilized among them, are disposed to treat you with equity and humanity and if you now make enquiry into their faith, you will find that many of them have rejected, as abuses and corruptions of it, those doctrines which you so justly abhor.

Jesus Christ, who was of your nation, was a worshipper of the same God with yourselves. He taught his followers to worship the same great Being, and no other, and to regard himself as their *master*, but as nothing more than the messenger and servant of God, a *prophet like unto Moses* ; and the apostle Peter calls him, “ a man approved of God, by miracles, and wonders, “ and signs, which God did by him.” Acts ii.

22. This rational doctrine prevails more and more among christians ; and by reading the New Testament, you will easily satisfy yourselves that there has been no more just reason why christians should pay divine honours to Christ, than your ancestors had to worship Moses.

For many ages your fathers were continually relapsing into idolatry. But God, in the course of his providence, has at length entirely cured you of the least propensity to it. In like manner he thought proper to permit christians to fall into similar idolatrous practices, but he is now opening their eyes, to shew them their abominations, and to bring them back to the worship of himself alone ; that with us, as well as with you, *God may be one, and his name one.* Zach. iv. 9.

As I believe in the same God with yourselves, and worship and serve him only ; so I, with some other christians, believe in the perpetual obligation of all the laws which Moses prescribed to your nation ; and that circumcision, and other customs derived from your ancestors, were intended to distinguish you from all other nations, as *the peculiar people of God*, to the end of the world. Jesus Christ expressly said, Matt. v. 17. that, " he came not to destroy the law or the prophets, " but to fulfil them ; and that till Heaven and earth " pass away, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass " from the law." The apostle Paul saith that by faith in the gospel, " we do not make void the law, but " establish it." Rom. iii. 31. Both Christ and his apostles, being Jews, strictly conformed to all the rites of your religion, and taught the same to all other chris

tian Jews, though they were authorised not to enjoin the same observances on christians of other nations. Had they done this, there would have been nothing to distinguish the posterity of Abraham from the rest of the world.

Since therefore, well informed christians believe in the same one, living, and true God with yourselves, it may be hoped that our mutual prejudices will in time abate, and that you will be prevailed upon to attend with calmness to the reasons that may be laid before you, why you should believe in the divine mission of Christ, as well as in that of Moses, and consider his religion as designed to be a blessing to the gentile world as well as to you.

The same God is the benevolent father of us all, and he has given us equal powers of serving him, and being happy in his favour. We are all equally subjects of his moral government here, and are by nature equally capable of being heirs of immortality hereafter. Permit us, therefore, to claim the title of your brethren, while we acknowledge you as *the elder branch* of the family, and do not envy you the pre-eminence that you are entitled to as such.

If you consider the tenor of all the promises of God to Abraham, and your great ancestors, you will find that none of them respect the favour of God in a future world, but only *in this*. And though you have had peculiar advantages for knowing and serving God; yet unless these be properly improved, having more to answer for than other nations, you will certainly subject yourselves to a greater condemnation. As God has never spared your nation whenever you have sinned, and re-

volted from him, but has always punished you, even with more severity than he has done other nations, who were less favoured by him in this world, the same will, no doubt, be the case in the world to come. If the respect that God has for your ancestors will exempt you from punishment hereafter, it certainly would have done so here.

To you, as the posterity of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, God has promised the possession of the land of Canaan. But your greatest and most honourable distinction is that, when all the rest of the world was fallen into idolatry and the abominable and horrid vices connected with it, God instructed you in the true knowledge and pure worship of himself, so that by means of your nation, that most important doctrine of the *divine unity*, has, together with the spirituality of his worship, been preserved in the world through all ages, even to this day.

You have been as the salt of the earth, and by the knowledge which has been diffused from you to other nations, it has been preserved from universal corruption. From your nation God has made choice of his prophets, by whom he has revealed his will, not to yourselves only, but to all his offspring of mankind. By Jesus Christ and his apostles, who were all Jews, he has taught his will to the whole world, *calling upon all men every where to repent* (Acts xvii. 30.) not that they may share in your peculiar privileges and honours here, but that they may obtain immortal happiness, together with all the virtuous of your nation, hereafter.

At present your nation is under the cloud of the

divine displeasure, and therefore you have no prophets among you. But when you shall be obedient to God, and when, in consequence of it, he shall restore you to the possession of your own country, divine communications will again be imparted to you, and by you to the rest of the world, as we read in Isaiah ch. ii. 2. "And it shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills, and all nations shall flow unto it, and many people shall go, and say, Come ye, let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob, and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his path. For out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. And he shall judge among the nations, and rebuke many people; and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks. Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."



LETTER II.

*Of the present dispersed and calamitous State of
Jewish Nation.*

I rejoice exceedingly in the prospect of the glorious times announced in the prophecy quoted in my last letter, times so glorious for you, and so happy for all of the world, and I trust that God is now disposing things in the course of his providence, so as to hasten their approach. But assure yourselves that till some

obstacle, now existing, be removed by yourselves, those times of honour and prosperity to your nation cannot come. The promises of God are sure. "He is a God of truth and without iniquity, just and right is he," Deut. xxxii. 4. And as surely as he threatened to expel you from the Land of Canaan for your disobedience, and has executed his threatenings in the most dreadful manner, so surely will he fulfil his promise to restore you to it again, when you return to your obedience. But this is the indispensable condition of his favour. Attend to the word of God by Moses.

Deut. xxx. 1, &c. "And it shall come to pass, when all these things are come upon thee, the blessing and the curse which I have set before thee, and thou shalt call them to mind, among all the nations whither the Lord thy God hath driven thee, and shalt return unto the Lord thy God, and shalt obey his voice, according to all that I commanded thee this day, thou and thy children, with all thy heart, and with all thy soul; that then the Lord thy God, will turn thy captivity, and have compassion upon thee, and will return, and gather thee from all the nations, whither the Lord thy God hath scattered thee. If any of thine be driven out unto the utmost parts of Heaven, from thence will the Lord thy God gather thee, and from thence will he fetch thee. And the Lord thy God will bring thee unto the land which thy fathers possessed, and thou shalt possess it, and he will do thee good, and multiply thee above thy fathers. And the Lord thy God will circumcise thine heart, and the heart

of thy seed to love the Lord thy God with all thine heart and with all thy soul, that thou mayest live."

Your present dispersed and calamitous situation is certainly a proof that you are *at this very time* under the divine displeasure. Otherwise his hand would not be so heavy upon you. Examine then impartially what is the real cause of it, and make it your business to remove it. The chief cause of God's displeasure against you in former times, was your falling into idolatry: of this you were effectually cured by the Babylonish captivity. But another cause was the obstinacy and incredulity with which your ancestors were charged, when they were called *a stiff necked and rebellious generation*, disobedient to the prophets whom God from time to time sent to them.

It is with reluctance that I bring these things to your remembrance, and only from a principle of sincere good-will to you. How many prophets of God were cruelly treated, and cut off by your forefathers, as your scriptures testify? But their descendants repented of this, as we read in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, where you have an excellent pattern of national humiliation for national sins, and an account of the return of God's favour in consequence of it.

Bear with me, I intreat you, if, on this occasion, I remind you of a serious warning given you by Christ, which at the same time shows his prophetic spirit, and the true cause of your present sufferings. It was delivered in your temple, a few days before his death, Matt. xxi. 23, &c. "There was a certain householder, who planted a vineyard, and hedged it round about, and digged a wine-press in it, and built a tower, and

let it out to husbandmen, and went into a far country. And when the time of the fruit drew near, he sent his servants to the husbandmen, that they might receive the fruits of it. And the husbandmen took his servants, and beat one, and killed another and stoned another. Again, he sent other servants, more than the first, and they did unto them likewise. But last of all he sent unto them his son, saying, They will reverence my son. But when the husbandmen saw the son, they said among themselves, 'This is the heir, come, let us kill him, and let us seize on his inheritance. And they caught him, and cast him out of the vineyard, and slew him. When the Lord therefore of the vineyard cometh, what will he do unto those husbandmen? They" (that is, your Scribes and Pharisees, before whom he delivered this remarkable parable) say unto him, He will miserably destroy those wicked men, and will let out his vineyard to other husbandmen, who shall render him the fruits in their seasons."—Our Saviour afterwards added (ver. 44) "Therefore the kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof." Has not this prophecy been as awfully fulfilled as that of Moses?

The continuance of your calamities shows that the cause of the divine displeasure against you is not only something wrong done by your ancestors, but also something that is approved, and persisted in, by yourselves, and it is not for immoralities of a common kind that God punishes you with so much severity. For other nations have been, in these respects, as wicked as you; but no nation ever suffered as you have done.

It is in vain to allede that you are now suffering for

all the sins of your ancestors from the beginning of your nation, and even for that of the golden calf. God expressly says, Exod. xx. 5. that he visiteth the iniquities of the fathers upon the children to the *third or fourth generation* only; whereas many generations have passed since you have been wholly expelled from the land of Canaan. Besides you were punished for all your sins prior to the Babylonish captivity, by that captivity. Your restoration to your country is a proof of that; and God would not punish you again, and at the distance of so many ages, and with so much more severity, for the same offences.

Consider also, that a captivity of seventy years only, without any peculiar hardship during the continuance of it, was deemed a sufficient punishment for all your offences committed before that period; whereas you have experienced unspeakably greater calamities, and of much longer continuance, since the promulgation of christianity, than the amount of all your sufferings previous to it. Besides, you have sufficiently repented of your ill usage of all the preceding prophets, and nothing more is requisite to obtain the divine forgiveness, and the return of his favour.

Be not, therefore, offended, if with great sincerity, but with equal affection, I must observe, that, according to appearances, there is no other cause of God's displeasure against you besides your rejection and persecution of the prophets of your own nation. Christ and the apostles, who were sent to you in the first place, and who confined their instructions to your nation, till, being rejected by you, they were directed to preach the gospel to the Gentiles. This circumstance contributed

to inflame the hatred of your ancestors against the preachers of the gospel, and against the gospel itself; and the same spirit (so hostile to the gospel, and to God, if he be the author of it, and which must necessarily have excited his displeasure against you) has actuated your nation, in a greater or less degree, in all ages, even to this day. But when, duly humbled and instructed by your afflictions, you shall be more disposed to hear, and attend to, the voice of God speaking to you by his servants, so that some of you at least, shall show a better disposition towards christianity (which does not at all interfere with your attachment to the laws of Moses) he may have mercy upon you; and your complete conversion may, perhaps, be reserved till your return to the land of Canaan. For the sake of a *righteous few*, God may have compassion on the many. But he only knows what his own secret purposes are. Of this we may be satisfied, that the Judge of all the earth will do that which is right" (Gen. xviii. 25.) and least of all will be unjust to the descendants of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

LETTER III.

Of the Historical Evidences of the Divine Mission of Christ.

REVIEW, I intreat you, the history of the times in which the gospel was published, and the conduct of your ancestors in them; and you will find ha they rejected those who came to them from God, bringing the same testimonials of a divine mission that Moses and the preceding prophets had brought before them. For, like them they also did what no men could have done, if God had not been with them. They healed all diseases by a word speaking, they even raised the dead, and Christ himself rose from the dead after he had been publicly crucified.

As a true prophet, Christ foretold the dreadful calamities which befel your nation in that generation, and with the truest sympathy he even shed tears on the prospect of them. Thus we read in one of our gospels, written before the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, Luke xix. 41. "And when he was come near, he beheld the city, and wept over it, saying, If thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace! But now they are hid from thine eyes. For the days shall come upon thee, that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side, and shall lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee; and they shall not leave in

thee one stone upon another, because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation."

That Christ performed miracles, your ancestors, who saw them, did not deny; but they weakly ascribed some of the most remarkable of them to the aid of Beelzebub; and it has since been said by your writers, that he performed his miracles by means of some ineffable name of God, which he stole out of the temple.

I will not affront your understandings so much as to refute such pretences as these. If God could permit Christ to impose upon your nation, and the world in this manner, he might have suffered Moses to do the same, and there could be no guard against the grossest impostures. Assure yourselves, therefore, that God, the God of your fathers, could never suffer your nation to be deceived in this manner. The powers of nature will never be controuled but by the God of nature, and by persons actually commissioned and empowered by him.

Think not that I wish to undervalue the evidence for the divine mission of Moses. I give as firm an assent to it as any of yourselves can do. The history of Moses is most essentially different from the fabulous histories of Greece and Rome; his history having been written in the age in which he lived, and the history of your nation having been continued without interruption from that time to what is universally allowed to be the time of certain history, and in such a manner as that the connection gives the highest credibility to the whole.

Such a history as yours could never have been *received* as true, in the age of Moses itself, and in all fol-

lowing ages, if it had not been so. Your nation, which by its long continuance in Egypt had acquired a fondness for its superstitions, was exceedingly averse to the laws and constitutions of Moses, and therefore would never have been brought to submit to them, if they had not been persuaded, by evidence in which they could not be deceived, that they were prescribed by God.

The evidence for the divine mission of Moses was, I say, of such a nature, as that it was impossible that your ancestors should have been imposed upon with respect to it. The miracles were not things done in the presence of a few interested witnesses, but in that of both Egyptians and Israelites. Your whole nation walked on dry land through the Red Sea, and through the channel of the river Jordan. They all heard the voice of God speaking to them distinctly (not a single articulate word only, but all the Ten Commandments) from mount Sinai, and they were fed with manna from Heaven forty years. In things of this public nature no people could be imposed upon.

It is not, indeed, possible to account for your ancestors (who were not in other respects more knowing than the rest of the world, and who were inferior in science to the Egyptians and Babylonians) having a more perfect knowledge of God, and a purer method of worship than other nations had, but on the supposition of their having been favoured with such divine communications as your history gives an account of. Where but in your scriptures, in all the periods of antiquity, and the most polished nations, shall we find such compositions as those which are contained in your book of psalms? It is in vain that we look for such sentiments

of reverence for the universal providence, and the righteous government of one living and true God in any hymns composed by writers of other nations. A religion so authenticated as yours, is certainly intitled to your most zealous attachment.

But it is not sufficient to obey *one* messenger of God only, and disregard others, who come with the same commission. The reverence which your ancestors had for Moses did not excuse them when they rejected Elijah, Jeremiah, and others whom God sent. If, therefore, John the Baptist and Jesus Christ, were actually sent to you with a commission from God; if they and the apostles were really *prophets*, your adherence to Moses and the other prophets will not excuse your rejection of them. For it is a rejection of the authority of God, by whom they were sent.

Now, without any disparagement to the evidence for the divine mission of Moses, that of Christ may be shewn to be even clearer and stronger, at least to us at this day? because the history of his miracles is more within the limits of certain history.

Are the books of Moses genuine, the real production of the age in which the events recorded in them are said to have taken place. So are our four gospels, and the book of Acts. For they also may be traced up to the time in which the events recorded in them happened, so that they could never have been received as they were, if it had not been well known that the particulars contained in them were true.

Were your forefathers so disposed that they would not have submitted to the institutions of Moses, with-

out the most satisfactory evidence, that they were prescribed to them by God? The apostles also, and thousands of your countrymen, in the age of Christ, were no less averse to receive such doctrines as those which he taught them. Would they have received such a person as Jesus, a crucified malefactor, a dead man, for their Messiah, if the clear evidence of the miracles wrought by him in his life time, and especially that of his resurrection from the dead, had not compelled them to it? They were no less attached to the opinion of the Messiah being a great prince and a conqueror than you are at this day. But being men of ingenuous minds, they not only abandoned that favourite doctrine, but every thing dear to them in the world, and even life itself, for the sake of truth and a good conscience.

If you examine the particulars of the miracles of Christ, you will find that, though none can be said to vie with some of those recorded by Moses in point of *splendor* and *magnitude*; yet, that with respect to *notoriety*, and *frequency*, they were abundantly sufficient to show, that there could be no trick or collusion in the case; and most of them were such as also mark the great benevolence of his character. He healed the sick; and not one or two only, but, during a great part of his public ministry, he went about hearing all that were brought to him, and especially diseases of the most obdurate kinds, which seldom yield to any medical treatment, and such as, if ever they be cured, it is only in a long course of time, as palsies, leprosies, lunacies, and cases of blindness. He raised no less than three persons from the dead, and two of them in the presence

of a great number of persons, his enemies as well as friends.

A miracle something similar to that of your forefathers being fed with manna, was his feeding first five thousand, and afterwards four thousand men, besides women and children, with a small quantity of provision. With respect to a mere command of the powers of nature, what could show it more than his stilling a tempest, or his walking on the sea, in which there could be no artifice by which the spectators could be imposed upon? And though after his resurrection, he did not appear to all the people, he was repeatedly seen and examined by numbers of those who were best acquainted with him, and at one time by more than five hundred persons at once. At first his disciples had no expectation of ever seeing him again and therefore could not have been pre-disposed to believe the fact; and afterwards they had leisure to converse with him, and examine him as particularly as they pleased; and in the presence of a great number of them, he ascended into heaven. After this he appeared to one of the most inveterate enemies of his religion, Saul of Tarsus, who, being thereby convinced of the truth of christianity, became a zealous preacher of it. Read the history, and you must perceive that it bears, in all respects, as evident marks of truth as that of Moses.

The obstinacy and incredulity of your nation in general, in the time of our Saviour and the apostles, may be satisfactorily accounted for on the principles of human nature, over which motives of interest, ambition, and revenge, have often more influence than

all other consideration. How often did the great body of your nation revolt from their allegiance to God; notwithstanding the clear and frequent proofs of his interposition? Within a very few days after the most express command, given from the mouth of God himself, in an audible voice from mount Sinai, forbidding them to make any graven image, they made a golden calf, and bowed down before it.

Is it then any thing very extraordinary, that, chagrined as your ancestors were, disappointed in the humble appearance of Jesus, and stung by his severe, though just reproofs of their hypocrisy and other vices, they were so far from hearkening to him that they apprehended him, and put him to death; and that they persisted in wreaking their vengeance on his followers? It is but too natural for interested, ambitious, and irritated men, to act as they did. But that Jesus, who was so unlike what was expected of the Messiah, should have been received in that character by such numbers of your countrymen, cannot be accounted for but on the supposition that they had received the fullest satisfaction that his claim was well founded.

It is, indeed, hardly possible to account for the very pretensions of Jesus himself, on any principles but the fullest conviction in his own mind, that God had sent him. He was a man of virtue and integrity if ever there was one; and, as appears by his whole history, he was no wild enthusiast, but of a very cool and temperate mind. Being a Jew as well as yourselves, he would naturally have the same notion of the Messiah that other Jews of his age had, and which you retain to this day. What then could have given him

an idea of a *spiritual*, instead of a *temporal* kingdom? and what could have supported him under the terror of a violent death to which he voluntarily surrendered himself, and which in his coolest moments he frequently expressed his deliberate intention of doing, in full confidence of being soon raised to life again, but the firmest persuasion that God was with him, and would carry him through his arduous undertaking?

Had Jesus been an impostor, like others by whom you have been imposed upon since, he would certainly have availed himself of the popular prejudices, instead of opposing them.—He would have courted the leading men of his country, and not have irritated them against him; or at least would have secured a sufficient number of partizans among the common people; and at several periods of his history, and especially in the week in which he was crucified, they were much disposed in his favor. But he always himself opposed every attempt to make him a king.

If he had not been a good man, as well as fully persuaded of his divine mission, he would naturally have assumed the title and rank of a King, in order to gain followers; and having no expectation of a spiritual kingdom, or of any reward in another life, he would never have been so foolish, or so mad, as to have submitted to die, when it was in his power to make his escape. For when those who were sent to apprehend him were struck with awe, and *fell backwards to the ground* (John xviii. 6.) he encouraged them, and voluntarily went with them, though he knew it was to certain death.

Had the scheme been that of the apostles, after the death of Christ (as the object of it must have been of their own emolument or honor) they certainly made a very unnatural choice of a head, to whom all the honor was given ; a man whose influence, whatever it was, must have expired with him, and whose name, as that of a crucified malefactor could have been no credit to them. Besides, it is highly improbable that they, whose ambition led them to dispute, as we find they did, about precedence while their master was living, should live in the most perfect harmony, and jointly carry on the same scheme, after his death, with no bond of truth and integrity to keep them together?

Consider then, I beseech you, the history of Christ, which is as authentic as that of Moses, or that of any of your prophets. The transactions of it, and of the period which followed it, were not things *done in a corner* (Acts xxvi. 26.) And consider whether, as men of reason and understanding, you can account for the reception of christianity in so great a part of the world, and especially by so many of your countrymen, and for its continuing to gain ground, and establish itself, notwithstanding the most violent opposition, both from the heads of your nation, and all the other powers of the world, on any other supposition than that of its having come from God.

Jesus Christ was not such a man as Mahomet, who pretended to no miracle besides the composition of the Koran (which it certainly does not exceed the capacity of man to write) and who propagated his religion by the sword. Christ and the apostles appealed to miracles of the most public nature, and had no means of

propagating their religion but the evidence of its truth.

I have carefully perused the most celebrated of your writers against christianity, and I do not find in any of them a due examination of the *historical evidence* for it. They have contented themselves with saying in general, that christianity was received by very few of your countrymen, and those the lowest of the people; and that even among the gentiles, the professors of it were not numerous before it was established by the power of Constantine.

Now a slight acquaintance with history would convince you that this was far from being the truth of the case. The history of the book of Acts (the authority of which was never disputed, any more than that of the books of Moses) shews that there were many thousands of christian Jews in Jerusalem itself, presently after the death and resurrection of Christ, and many of them of considerable rank. And, according to other, the most authentic, accounts, there appears to have been a large body of Jewish christians (generally called *Ebionites*) residing chiefly in Syria, whither they had retired upon the approach of the Jewish war; and there were even several considerable writers among them. Of these I shall only mention Hegesippus, who wrote the history of the christian church, in continuation of the book of Acts; and Symmachus, who, besides translating the Old Testament into Greek, wrote a Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew, in which he undertook to refute the story of the miraculous conception. They were also learned Jewish christians of whom Jerome learned the Hebrew tongue,

As to the christian Gentiles, it is well known that they were exceedingly numerous in all parts of the Roman empire ; that they did not in general consist of the lowest of the people, but had among them many persons of wealth, rank, and character, and that they endured several severe persecutions before the time of Constantine. Beside, how could this emperor, in a period which was full of civil dissention, and who having had many competitors to contend with, must have had many more to fear, have safely changed the public religion of the Roman empire, if the minds of the people had not been well prepared for it, by their general profession, or at least good opinion, of christianity ?

Now what we maintain is, that this state of things (which no person acquainted with history can deny) could not have taken place without such evidence of the miracles and resurrection of Christ, as it was not in the power of those who had the best opportunity of enquiring into it, to resist.

In order to form a right judgment with respect to those facts on which the truth of christianity depends, permit me to observe, that you must not (as too many of you, I perceive, do) confine yourselves to the reading of books written by your countrymen, but give due attention to Greek and Roman literature ; by which only you can form a just idea of the state of things in the times in which christianity was promulgated. It is well known that there are no Hebrew writings of that period now extant. But other nations have had writers and historians, as well as yours ; and they are intitled to credit in proportion to the marks of good in-

formation, and of veracity which they bear. Read then with attention the writings of the age in which christianity was promulgated, and any others that are able to throw light upon it, and consider who they were that *rejected* it. This, I am persuaded, will satisfy you, that the work was of God, and therefore that it was in vain that the rulers of your nation, and the world opposed it.

LETTER IV.

Of the Doctrine concerning the Messiah.

You say that whatever miracles might have been wrought by Christ and his apostles, he could not be your *Messiah*, because he did not bear the proper characters of the *Messiah*, as they are laid down in the prophets. But I earnestly beg that you would reconsider those prophecies, and what is really said of the person who is distinguished by the title of the *Messiah*, or the anointed messenger of God. That particular title is not used (except by Isaiah, who gives it to Cyrus) by any of your prophets before Daniel, who applies it to a person who was to be *cut off*, and who assigns a term for that event, which must have been elaps-

ed many centuries ago (Dan. ix. 24.) For *seventy weeks* (or a period consisting of as many years as seventy weeks contain days) from *the command to rebuild Jerusalem*, which was then in ruins, must, on any computation, have expired about the time of Christ.

Your Rabbi Isaac, in his celebrated treatise intitled the *Bulwark of the faith*, says, that the seventy weeks of Daniel are a period of four hundred and ninety years, to be reckoned from the word of God to Jeremiah concerning the return from the Babylonish captivity, or from the destruction of the temple by Nebuchadnezzar, to its destruction by Titus (Section 42.) He also says, that *Messiah, the prince*, in the former part of the prophecy, means Cyrus, who is called the Messiah, or *the anointed*, by Isaiah; and that by the Messiah who is to be cut off, in the latter part of the prophecy, is meant the last king of the Jews, or Agrippa the younger, who is said by a spurious Joseph (never quoted by any writer before the twelfth century) to have been killed by Vespasian before the taking of the city.

But, to mention no more objections to this hypothesis, from the destruction of the temple by Nebuchadnezzar to that by Titus, was a period of more than six hundred and fifty years; and king Agrippa was not cut off at all, but probably ended his days peaceably at Rome, as may be collected from the best accounts of him. Besides, the Messiah mentioned in the two parts of the same prophecy, is no doubt, the same person, whoever he was; and if this be not your *proper Messiah*, where do you find him announced at all, by name, in any prophecy whatever?

On the other hand, Orobio, in his disputation with Limborch, maintained that the Messiah of Daniel was the first high priest, who lived together with, and after, Nehemiah. But it is not at all necessary to shew how ill this idea corresponds to the language of the prophecy.

The mistake which, for wise purposes, God has suffered you to fall into, has arisen from your not having distinguished between this *suffering Messiah*, and that *prince of the house of David*, under whom you are to enjoy the great prosperity that is promised to you in the *latter days*. All the temporal glory that you expect, will certainly be your lot; and the Messiah that you look for will come. ~~For it is not the same, but the character that is to be regarded.~~ But if you admit the *divine mission* of Jesus, you cannot object to his claim of being that suffering *Messiah*, announced by the prophets.

Your future glory is distinctly foretold by many of ~~the prophets~~. It is even the great ~~subject~~ of the prophecy from Abraham to Zechariah. But it must come in its ~~proper time~~. And while you continue obstinately to resist God, in rejecting those whom he sent unto you, and cherish a temper of mind so utterly unworthy of the high rank that is destined for you, I do not see how it can be consistent with the prophecies that you should be in any other state than that most unhappy one in which you now are.

You expect that your Messiah will be lineally descended from David, and therefore you cannot be reconciled to the idea of Jesus being that Messiah, because christians say that they had no human father; so

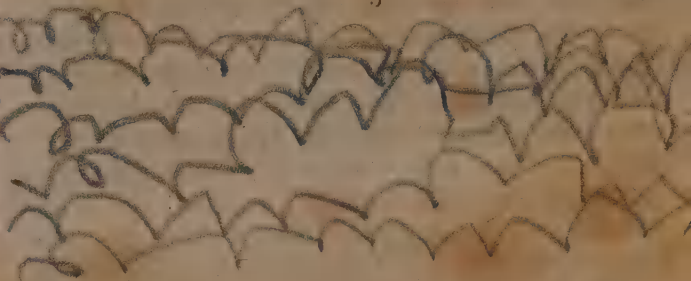
that according to your rules of genealogy, he could not be said to be *the son of David*. But it is no where said that the person who is characterised by the title of *Messiah*, should be descended from David, but only that *prince* under whom you are to enjoy your temporal prosperity.

However, the history of the miraculous conception of Jesus does not appear to me to be sufficiently authenticated. The evidence of it is by no means the same with that of his public life, his miracles, his death, and resurrection, which are all that the truth of christianity requires (and of which there were many witnesses) and the original gospel of Matthew, received by your countrymen, ~~did not contain it~~.

Your sacred books, as well as ours, being written by *men*, neither of them can be expected to be entirely free from mistakes, or exempt from interpolations.—Yours, as you must acknowledge, have, in a course of time, suffered in these respects. But it is ~~ancient~~ for us both, that the great events, on which every thing that is of importance to our religion depends, are true. As to any thing that is not necessarily connected with such events, and therefore is not supported by their evidence, we should think ourselves at liberty to receive or reject it, according to its *separate evidence*.—Myself, and many other christians, are no believers in the miraculous conception of Jesus, but are of opinion, that he was the legitimate son of Joseph, who was of the family of David; and such seems to have been the opinion of the great body of Jewish christians, who had more opportunity of informing themselves con-

cerning the fact than the gentiles had. But we are not less firm believers in all the public transactions of the life of Jesus, in his miracles, his death, and his resurrection; and consequently, in his divine mission.—With respect to his supposed miraculous conception, and other articles relating to christianity, but not essential to it, do you examine and judge for yourselves.

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LETTER V.

Miscellaneous Observations, and Conclusion.

Some of you perhaps may say, that you cannot enter into any discussion concerning the evidence of christianity, till the different professors of it shall agree among themselves, and tell you what it really is. But this demand would be manifestly unreasonable; because it is very possible that christianity may be true, though many persons should hold wrong opinions concerning it. You Jews hold very different opinions concerning many things relating to your law. But does this circumstance prove that it has no foundation in truth?

There is not, indeed, any subject of human speculation, with respect to which different men have not maintained different opinions. But would you think it wise in any person to refuse to study the law, or medicine, or philosophy, till all the professors of these sciences were agreed about the principles of them.

Besides all christians are agreed with respect to the great articles of their faith. They all maintain that Jesus had a divine mission, evidenced by his miracles and resurrection; that he was the person announced by your prophets under the character of *the Messiah*; and that, though he is ascended to Heaven, he will come again to raise the dead, and judge the world.—Admit the truth of these articles only, and we shall readily acknowledge you to be christians. As you ac-

knowledge any man to be a believer in the religion of Moses, who admits *his* divine mission; nothing is requisite to denominate any person a christian, but the believing the divine mission of Christ.*

If it stagger you to think that christianity should have been so corrupted, as it must have been if my ideas of it be just; I beg leave to refer you to my *History of the Corruptions of Christianity*, in which you will find the origin and progress of them, I flatter myself, satisfactorily accounted for, without implying any reflection on christianity itself. And if you wish to have a more particular account of the origin of the doctrine of the trinity, at which you are so justly scandalized, I refer you to my *History of early Opinions concerning Jesus Christ*, in which you will see a full account of the rise and progress of that doctrine, with all the changes it has undergone, from its source in the Platonic philosophy to the present day.

You may, however, say, that Christians are so much divided among themselves, that you do not know which denomination of them you can join. But the same may be said concerning your religion. For there are different sects among you, and you differ in the interpretation of your scriptures as we do in that of ours.

Besides, there is no occasion for you Jews to connect yourselves with any class of Christians. On the contrary, since you are still to be distinguished as *Jews*, no less than as *christians*, it will be more convenient for you to form a separate church, and to keep your

* He means a nominal christian, or one who only has the name. Barely believing, will not make a real christian.

sabbath as you now do. There are some christians who observe the seventh day as well as yourselves, and we consider this circumstance as making no schism in the christian church. All the ancient Jewish christians observed the seventh day for the purpose of public worship.

It has pleased divine providence, for wise ends, no doubt, to permit both your religion and ours to be grossly corrupted. Many things have been added to your law entirely foreign to it; and this has also been the case with christianity. To the simple doctrine of the gospel have been added such opinions (borrowed from heathen philosophy) as are utterly discordant with its genuine principles, especially that of the divinity of Christ; though the New Testament no more represents him as a God, than the Old Testament does Moses. But, as I have said, there are many christians who hold that doctrine, and that of the *trinity*, in as much abhorrence as you can do.

By all means read the New Testament for yourselves; and examine it with impartiality. It will be best understood by means of its connection with the Old, as it consists of books written by your countrymen, to whom your scriptures, and the language in which they are written, were familiar; so that the phraseology is very much the same in both. You will find the historical books, which are those of the greatest importance, written with the same simplicity with those of the Old Testament by men of the greatest integrity and piety, who like your sacred writers, do not conceal their own faults, or those of their friends; and very far will you

be from perceiving in them any marks of artifice, or of a design to impose upon their readers, if it had been in their power, which it evidently was not.

An impartial perusal of these books, with an allowance of such oversights as are incident to all writers, those of your scriptures not excepted, cannot but give you a favorable impression of the characters of Christ and the apostles, and dispose you to give more attention to the evidence of their mission from God. But, by all means, as becomes men of reason and religion, endeavor to divest yourselves of that extreme abhorrence with which you have generally regarded our religion: under the influence of which it will be impossible for you to form any right judgment. Such an extreme prejudice as many of you have shown to the very name of *christianity* must incapacitate persons for judging right-
~~conceive good out of an evil, and that the only profit~~
 evil for the sake of the good that is connected with it. Even the general unbelief of your nation, which is so much to be lamented in some respects, has had its use with regard to the credibility of the gospel history. Had the great body of your nation, and especially the rulers of it, in the time of Christ, or that of his apostles, embraced christianity; as it was a religion which sprung up among yourselves, it would have been said, at this day, that it was a contrivance of those who had it in their power to impose upon the common people, and to make them believe whatever they pleased; and that your scriptures, which bear testimony to Christ, had been altered to favor the imposture. Whereas

the violent opposition which your nation in general, and the rulers of it, made to christianity, and which has continued to the present day, will forever put it out of the power of unbelievers to say, that it was a scheme which the founders of it carried on in concert with any human powers. The work was not of man, but of God. It was founded on truth, and the gates of death cannot prevail against it. Matt. xvi. 18.

But if your temporary unbelief has answered so valuable a purpose, a much greater, and a more happy one may be expected from your conversion to christianity, at the present, or some future time, when with that will be connected your restoration to the divine favor, your resettlement in your own country, and that glorious and prosperous state in it which is certainly reserved for you. This will be such a fulfilment of a long train of prophecy, now existing, in your sacred books and ours, ~~in the pure~~ worship of the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, to the end of time.

Even the corruptions of christianity, and the degree of unbelief in it which has been the consequence of that corruption will likewise appear, we cannot doubt to have had its use, viz. to make us examine our principles, in order to distinguish what is *true* from what is *false*. By this means we shall be better acquainted with the real nature and value of christianity, and yield a better grounded, and more unwavering assent to it, than we could have done, if we had only received it from our ancestors, without any examination of our own. It is a knowledge of the opposition that had been made to any

system, and of the power of truth in overcoming that opposition, that can alone give a firm establishment to our faith in it.

We therefore owe infinite obligation to your nation, for upbraiding us, as you have never ceased to do, with paying divine honours to Jesus Christ, and making a triunity in the divine nature, and consequently with being idolaters.

It has been one principal means of making the more inquisitive among us to consider whether the heinous charge was a just one; and the consequence has been, that we have found it to be so. You had reason on your side, and we yield to it. With the same candour, do you also examine whether we have not, in other respects, reasons on our side also, and submit to that, not to us, who are only the means in the hand of providence of holding it out to you.

If you will examine impartially what christianity is, you will find in it nothing at which your minds ought to revolt. It is perfectly consistent with all the zeal you now have for the law of Moses, though it is hostile to the additions which the Scribes and Pharisees among you have made to it, and which no person, except one authorised by God for the purpose, had any right to make.

Christianity inculcates as fully as Moses himself, the doctrines of the *divine unity*, and that of his placability to returning penitents, and it asserts with peculiar clearness and energy that fundamental article of all practical religion, the revelation of a *future life*, rectifying some mistake into which your ancestors seem to have fallen with respect to it. But, whether you be offended, or

not, christianity opens the gates of heaven to all the gentile world.

This doctrine, however, is by no means inconsistent with any thing contained in your scriptures, but on the contrary, is really implied in them. For there we read that Enoch, Noah, Job, and many others, enjoyed the favor of God (and they will no doubt be happy in a future state) though they lived before the publication of the law of Moses, or even the appointment of circumcision. It is evident, therefore, these rites are not, in their own nature, necessary to acceptance with God.

Nay, Abraham himself became the friend and the favorite of God before he was circumcised: and neither he, nor Isaac, nor Jacob, were acquainted with the peculiar law of Moses. Why then should you think it inconsistent with any maxim in the government of God, that he should be disposed to make all the sincerely pious and virtuous happy?

Your peculiar ritual cannot, from the nature of it, be observed by all mankind. It is only adapted to a country of small extent, but sufficient, and properly situated, to be the head of all countries, and where your nation will reign as *kings and priests* unto God, receiving the homage of all other nations, and presenting offerings to God on their behalf. If a situation like this does not gratify your highest ambition, you encourage an ambition of a very preposterous and improper kind, inconsistent with the happiness of all other nations, and indeed with that of your own. But can you really think that God made all the gentile nations to be your slaves and vassals, and did not rather intend that your pre-

eminence should have for its object in the great plan of providence, the happiness of the whole world?

The head, though the most honourable member of the body, is calculated to be subservient to the whole system. The family of Aaron supplies you with priests, but it is for the use of all the twelve tribes; and it is the family of David gives you kings, but for the happiness of the nation at large. In like manner your whole nation is to be the head of all the nations of the earth, in order to its being the medium of communicating happiness to all mankind, who are equally the offspring of God, and the care of his providence with yourselves. Let then this great, this rational, and this desirable pre-eminence content you, and let all idea of opposition, and difference of interest, cease. We will receive and honor you as our elder brethren, in the great family of God. Acknowledge us as your younger brethren.

Your nation is the great object towards which our eyes are directed. From the call of Abraham, you have been the chief instrument in the hands of God of instructing mankind in the great truths of religion. Your sufferings have had the same object with your prosperity; and having now, we hope, nearly answered their end, may the God of heaven, the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the God of whom we christians as well as you Jews worship [and whom we have learned of you to worship] be graciously pleased to put an end to them, gather you from among all nations, as he has promised, re-settle you in your own country, the land of Canaan, and under princes of the family of Da-

vid, make you the most illustrious, as you are now the most despised, of all the nations of the earth.

With my most earnest prayers for your happiness, temporal and spiritual, I am,

Your brother in the worship

Of the only true God,

JOSEPH PRIESTLEY.

P. S. I am far from flattering myself that the little which I have now advanced should, of itself, make any of you converts to christianity. My utmost hope is that it may be the means of drawing your attention to the subject, and especially to the study of your scriptures and ours in conjunction; that you may judge for yourselves whether there be a reason in what I have advanced, or not. Your conversion must be the result of your own diligent study, and impartial enquiry, with the blessing of God. In order to contribute the little that may be in my power to so desirable an event, I shall be very happy to hear what any of your learned men may object to my state of the evidences of christianity in this small tract; and I do assure you that I will consider your objections with the greatest attention. Let us then freely confer and reason together on the subject, and if we should not entirely convince one another, we shall at least have an opportunity of shewing our candor and good will.

You will please to take particular notice that my chief object (besides shewing that the proper characters of the person who is distinguished in your prophecies by the title of *Messiah* apply to Jesus Christ, and to no other) is to convince you that the *proper*, that is, the *historical evidence* for the miracles of Christ is of the very same kind with that to which you must have recourse, in order to prove the truth of those of Moses, and, upon the whole, more strong and satisfactory. If, therefore, it be in your power to persuade a heathen that God really spake to your ancestors by Moses; by the force of exactly similar arguments, you ought to acknowledge that the same great Being spake by Christ and the apostles; and on whatever principles you reject the evidence of christian miracles, any person will be justified in rejecting those on which the truth of your own religion rests.

Diligently, then, compare the historical evidence of the two religions. Both, you will find, are, in reality, but one. They are perfectly consistent with, nay, they imply, each other, and must stand or fall together.

LETTERS

TO

DR. PRIESTLEY,

IN ANSWER TO THOSE HE ADDRESSED

TO THE

J E W S ;

INVITING THEM TO AN AMICABLE DISCUSSION OF THE EVIDENCES OF CHRISTIANITY.

BY DAVID LEVI,

AUTHOR OF LINGUA SACRA, THE CEREMONIES OF THE JEWS, &c.

THEN THE LORD SAID UNTO ME, THE PROPHETS PROPHECY LIES IN MY NAME; I SENT THEM NOT, NEITHER HAVE I COMMANDED THEM, NEITHER SPAKE UNTO THEM. Jer. xiv. 14.

THIRD AMERICAN, FROM THE SECOND BRITISH EDITION.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE *Author of the following Sheets, sincerely hopes, that the Reader will view the undertaking with a candid eye; and not construe any part thereof, as reflecting upon what may be called true Christianity. What he has advanced, is, in support of a religion given by God himself; (although some Christians think, that it is no longer acceptable to him,) and that, not till after a SOL-
EMN INVITATION, from an eminent divine and philosopher to the whole nation, as a preliminary step towards their conversion. The Author, (who is a sincere inquirer after truth) has, in consequence thereof, accepted the invitation, in order to convince, or be convinced, if PER-
MITTED to proceed in the inquiry.*



AN INTRODUCTORY LETTER.

REV. SIR,

THE perusal of your Letters addressed to the Jews, put into my hand by a worthy friend) hath afforded me much satisfaction, to find so able a divine and Philosopher, acknowledge the unity of God; and who, at the same time, thinks there is some merit in the persevering faith of the Jewish nation, in "the promises of God, notwithstanding the most discouraging appearances."

But this, Sir, is no more than our duty, and what we inherit from the great patriarch Abraham, from whom we are descended; for of him it is recorded, "And he believed in the Lord, and he counted it to him for righteousness."* And therefore, having so bright an example continually before us, we cannot, without being highly culpable, and rendering ourselves utterly unworthy the attention of the Supreme Being, entertain the least doubt of his Justice and Equity.— And, as all the calamities that were to befall our nation, in consequence of our transgressing the LAW, as foretold by that great prophet, and divine legislator, Moses,† have been fulfilled in all respects; consequently, those great and glorious promises also foretold by the same prophet,‡ must likewise have their full completion.

*Genesis xv 6.

† Levit. xxvi. 14, &c. and Deut. xviii. 15, &c,

‡ "And yet for all that, when they be in the land of their enemies, I will not cast them away, neither will I abhor them, to destroy them utterly, and to break my covenant with them: for I am the Lord their God." Levit. xxvi. 44.

But the exact time of this accomplishment is not known to any, save the eternal God himself; as Moses, speaking in the name of God, emphatically expresses it in his prophetic poem, Deut. xxxii. 34.—“Is not this laid up in store with me, and sealed up among my treasures?” That is, it is as secret from all eyes, as the contents of a letter before the seal is broken. And in nearly the same sense, does the prophet Isaiah express himself. “I the Lord will hasten it in his time.*”

These prophecies, Sir, are our consolation in this long, and dreadful captivity, and have been our support, in enabling us to bear up against the many grievous and miserable persecutions, we have suffered both from *Infidels* and *Christians*. And hence it is demonstrable, that the calculators of the time of the coming of the Messiah, (and which, they say, must have been elapsed many centuries ago; and therefore, exult over us, as if God had totally cast us off, and there was no hope left for Israel,) have been most egregiously mistaken, as will be clearly shown hereafter, in answer your fourth letter: for as you have invited our nation to an amicable discussion of the evidences of Christianity, I shall endeavour to answer what you have advanced in behalf of your doctrine, as far as the extent of my abilities, and the little time I have to spare from my other avocations, will permit, as most of our learned men, (as I am informed) have declined the invitation; and that, as I understand, for two reasons: first, on account of the aversion which the elders of our community have towards any of their body entering into reli-

* Isa. lx. 22.

gious disputes, for fear, that any thing advanced by them might be construed as reflecting on, or tending to disturb the national religion, as by law established. This hath always, hitherto, been studiously avoided by all those of our nation, in all parts of their dispersion ; for we endeavour strictly to abide by the admonition of the prophet,* as may be observed by the form of prayer composed for the royal family. Second, the generality of our learned men being foreigners, are deficient in the proper idiom and phraseology of the English language ; consequently, are not able to enter the lists against so spirited and elegant a writer.

These, Sir, are the reasons. As to the first, I think it groundless : for although they might justly have been apprehensive of the consequences of such disputes in the dark ages of Popery, when, on the least surmise, or most groundless accusation, (as the crucifying of children, &c.) thousands were massacred in England. And in the reign of Henry the Third, their chief synagogue in London was taken from them by the king, and given to the *Friars Penitents*, on a most extraordinary complaint exhibited against them by the said Friars, viz. “ *That they (the Friars) were not able to make the body of Christ in quiet,*” for the great howlings the Jews made there during their worship.† Yet, ought

* And seek the peace of the city, whither I have caused you to be carried away captive, and pray unto the Lord for it : for in the peace thereof shall ye have peace. Jer. xxix. 7.

† The learned Author of *Anglia Judaica*, justly observes, that the true state of the case was, “ That those locusts were situated in the Old Jewry, and having but a small dark chapel belonging to their Friary, thought the Jews fine synagogue, which stood next to it, would be more convenient for them ; and therefore (after the example of their brethren of St. Anthony) begged it of the king, and furnished him with that reason for it.”

they not at present, to entertain any such apprehensions, thanks be to God, the Reformation, and glorious Revolution. Besides, we live in an enlightened age, in which the investigation of theological points is accounted laudable; and so they really are, if not carried to a licentious height. Nay, had it not been for this laudable spirit of inquiry, entertained by the first Reformers, all the reformed churches would still have been sunk in gross ignorance, and Romish superstition; and have groaned under the yoke of Papal tyranny: consequently, nothing can be more commendable, than a fair and candid inquiry after truth. For which reason, I am free to assert, that their fear in this case, is entirely groundless; and their reason for declining the discussion on that account, of no force.

But, as to the second reason, I think it is of great weight; and therefore, can only say, in the language of little David, "Let no man's heart fail because of him; thy servant will go and fight with this Philistine." And, although it may be said, in regard to this, (as Saul did to David,) "Thou art not able to go against this Philistine; for thou art but a youth, and he a *man of war** from his youth." To this I answer, in the language of the little champion, "Thy servant slew both the lion† and the bear‡: and this uncircumcised Philistine shall be as one of them. For "he cometh against me with a sword,§ and with a spear,|| and with a shield¶; but I come in the name of the Lord of hosts.**"

* In literature. † Dr. Prideaux. See the Ceremonies of the Jews, by the Author. ‡ Hutchinson, &c. See *Lingua Sacra*, article Eleh. § Elegance of diction. || Criticism. ¶ Sophistry. ** Simple truth.

But to drop the allegory, permit me, Sir, to ask you, whether you sincerely intend, in this discussion, to defend Christianity? For your doctrine is so opposite to what I always understood to be the principles of Christianity, that I must ingeniously confess, I am greatly puzzled to reconcile your principles with the attempt. What! a writer that asserts, that "the miraculous conception of Jesus does not appear to him to be sufficiently authenticated, and that the original gospel of St. Matthew did not contain it,"* set up for a defender of Christianity against the Jews! This, is such an inconsistency, as I little expected to meet with in a Philosopher, whose sole pursuit had been in search of truth. Might I be so happy as to bring him acquainted with it, I should then think my pains well rewarded: at any rate, I shall endeavor to speak conformable to it. I must however acknowledge, that you are pleased to declare in plain terms, that you† *do not believe in the miraculous conception of Jesus; and that you are of opinion that he was the legitimate son of Joseph.* After such assertions as these, how you can be intitled to the appellation of a Christian, in the strict sense of the word is to me really incomprehensible. But, whether you are hearty in the cause, or no, I mean to confer, and reason freely with you on the subject, and candidly consider your arguments; but not with a view of converting either you, or any other Christian, to the Jewish faith, I assure you. No, Sir, we never attempt it; for we do not think ourselves

* Letter IV page 28.

bound (as the Christians) to propagate our religion, either by arguments, or persecution; nor (like the Mahometans) by the sword. On the contrary, we think that conscience ought to be free; and therefore, leave every person at liberty to judge for himself; and this, I may alledge, as a third reason, in favour of those of our nation declining the discussion, as no REAL benefit is *likely* to accrue from it. For if you, and the other writers of your sect, have not been able to convince these who account themselves Orthodox Christians of the *true unity* of God; nor they you, of the *divinity* of Christ, how shall a simple Jew, (who is perhaps despised by both) be able to convince either? This would be the highest degree of presumption, and which none of our nation are ambitious of meriting. No, Sir, while we are destitute of the most *convincing*, and *persuasive* arguments in favour of Judaism, viz. sat Bishopricks, Deaneries, Rectories, and Vicarages, we must not expect it. And, we are really so far from pursuing the spirit of conversion, or coveting proselytes, that, when any one is desirous (of his own accord) to embrace Judaism, we endeavor to deter him from his purpose, by representing to him the consequence of his design. For thus it is laid down by Maimondes, when a person is willing to become a proselyte, and strict inquiry being made concerning him, and no (sinister) cause found, they question him thus: What is it that moves thee to become a proselyte to Judaism? Dost thou not know that Israel, at this time, is subject to *woe*, and is *hurried*, *expelled*, and *devoured* by all nations; and that afflictions are continually coming on them? &c. They

also inform him of the punishment he becomes liable to for transgressing the commandments ; as DEATH for profaning the sabbath ; excision for eating forbidden meats, &c. Hence it is manifest, that we not only faithfully point out to him the strictness of our law, but also an exact picture of what he is to expect in temporal matters ; in thus joining himself to a nation labouring under oppression, misery, and almost universal contempt. All which, fully demonstrates, how inclinable we are towards converting any to our religion. But do not think, Sir, that this proceeds from our unwillingness, that others should be partakers of the heavenly bliss, annexed to the due performance of the Mosai-cal dispensation ; but from a just and liberal way of thinking, and the universal CHARITY we are taught to live in with mankind in general : for it is the unanimous opinion of our Rabbins, that the *law of Moses*, is obligatory on those of our nation only : for as we entered into a covenant with God to keep his law, and commandments, we, consequently, are bound to the due performance thereof. But that, we hold not to be the case of the rest of mankind ; for, if they do but keep the law of nature, that is, the seven precepts of the sons of Noah, or Noachides,* we maintain, that they thereby perform all that God requires of them, and will certainly by this service, render themselves acceptable to him. And it is such as conform to these rules, that we

* These precepts are as follows : First, Not to commit idolatry. Second, Not to blaspheme. Third, To appoint and constitute just, and upright judges : that justice may be maintained, and impartially administered to all. Fourth, Not to commit incest. Fifth, Not to commit murder. Sixth, Not to rob, or steal, &c. Seventh, Not to eat a member of a living creature.

call Hasiday Amut Haolam, the pious of the nations of the world ; and who will be partakers of eternal life, Maimonides on repentance, Chap. III.

Thus, Sir, you may perceive, that we do not think our religion obligatory upon ALL mankind ; nor the only infallible one to salvation ; as every other Religion and Sect that I have hitherto heard of, esteems itself. With these just and noble sentiments, inculcated in me from my earliest youth, it must be obvious to every impartial and liberal mind, that I do not aim at the conversion of Christians to the Jewish faith ; as I do not think such *knight errantry* incumbent upon me, or necessary to the salvation of mankind.

But as I think it proper, that I should declare what is my aim in this undertaking, I shall, without ceremony, proceed to inform you, that it is two-fold.

First, to clear our nation from the obloquy which they have laboured under for upwards of seventeen hundred years, viz. the charge of crucifying the Lord and Saviour of the world, as the orthodox Christians hold ; or a prophet that was sent to them in the first instance, as you are pleased to assert.

Second. That as you seem engaged in the laudable pursuit of truth, I would willingly assist you therein to the utmost of my power, by throwing such lights thereon, as may be a furtherance thereto. In the meantime, with my most earnest supplications to the Supreme Being, that he may be pleased to illuminate your mind in the pursuit of truth, I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

DAVID LEVI.

LETTER I.

Of the present Dispersion of the Jewish Nation.

DEAR SIR,

YOU tell us (page 10, of your letters,) that "our present dispersed and calamitous situation, is certainly a proof that we are at this time under the divine displeasure; that we ought to examine what is the real cause of it, and make it our business to remove it." So far we agree. But, when you observe, (page 12,) that we ought "to consider that a captivity of seventy years only, without any peculiar hardship during the continuance of it, were deemed sufficient punishment for all our offences committed before that period; whereas we have experienced unspeakably greater calamities, and of much longer continuance, since the promulgation of Christianity, than the amount of all our sufferings previous to it." And also, with great *sincerity* and *equal* affection observe, "that, according to appearances, there is no other cause of God's anger against us, besides our rejection and persecution of the prophets of our own nation, Christ and the apostles, who were sent to us in the first place, and who confined their instructions to our nation till being rejected by us, they were directed to preach to the Gentiles." You also observe, (page 10, as I suppose in confirmation of the preceding quotations) "that many of the prophets of God were cruelly treated, and cut off by our forefathers, as our scriptures testify. But their descendants repented of this, as we read in the books

of Ezra and Nehemiah." I must tell you sincerely, that you have attempted to mislead your readers, under the appearance of sincerity and good will; and that, by jumbling truth and falsehood together in such a manner, as not to be easily separated by persons of ordinary capacities; and which are what the bulk of a nation generally consist of. For, first, as to our calamities being unspeakably greater, and of longer continuance since the promulgation of Christianity, than the amount of our suffering previous to it, I grant:* and so must every candid and impartial person, who is but in the least acquainted with the history of the Jews, in this, or any other of the christian nations. where they have sojourned; and which is one great argument with me, against Christianity being the peaceable kingdom of the Messiah, as foretold by the prophets,† in thus persecuting God's chosen and peculiar people, as you yourself allow them to be, (not to mention the blood that hath been spilt among Christians, in persecuting each other;) and yet, we do not bear so great a dislike to Christians, nor so great an abhorrence to their faith, as you seem to insinuate, (page 4,) although, were we like some who call themselves Christians, we might entertain such sentiments, considering the many cruel persecutions we have suffered under them; and notwithstanding that their doctrines are so contrary to the fundamental principles of our religion, yet we do not abhor them. For I do freely confess, that those doctrines do not *teach* or *authorize* them to shed

* Except in the time of Antiochus Epiphanus.

† Isai, xl. 6, 7, 8, &c. and Micah, iv. 3, 4, &c.

the blood of Jews. No, Sir, we carefully distinguish between the doctrine, and its professors : and, though we have suffered such cruel persecutions from Christians, yet, thanks be to God, and the reformation, we now enjoy many privileges and immunities in the several Christian states where we are settled, which our ancestors were strangers to in their dispersions. For this we are not ungrateful ; but, in return, pray for the prosperity of the state, as mentioned in my introductory letter. So much for OUR ABHORRENCE OF THE CHRISTIAN FAITH.

Second, as to the cause of our present captivity, which you impute to our rejecting and persecuting of the prophets ; that is, Christ and his apostles : this I freely assert to be ill founded ; for, whether Christ was the second person in the Trinity, as Christians in general hold, or only a prophet, as you and the rest of your sect affirm : I say, in either case, he could not be sent to us in the first place ; nor could we receive him, without being hostile to the laws of Moses, as also to God, who was the author of them, as acknowledged by both Jews and Christians. For if he came in the former character, and the doctrine which he preached, was intended to maintain that absurd and corrupt tenet, it would be an unanswerable argument that his doctrine never came from God, it being impossible that God should contradict himself ; for hath he not expressly told us himself in the second commandment, THOU SHALT HAVE NO OTHER GODS BEFORE ME.* This, I think, must necessarily signify, if there be any meaning

* Exod. xx. 3.

in language, ONE SUPREME INTELLIGENT BEING, endued with all possible perfection, power, wisdom, knowledge, and goodness. And, agreeably to this just, rational, and fundamental doctrine, Moses has, in the most solemn manner, endeavored to inculcate this most important truth, in the following words: *Hear, O Israel, Jehovah our God is ONE Jehovah.* Deut. vi. 4.

These, besides numberless other passages in the Old Testament, make it plain that we could not receive Christ in the first character, without a breach of the covenant established between God and our nation. And if in the second character, that is, as a prophet, we likewise could not receive him: for, in the first place, he was deficient in the essential character of a prophet. For we do not find it recorded, that Christ prophesied in the name of God, as is expressed by all the other prophets from Moses to Malachi, (who was the last.) As the Lord spake unto Moses, &c. and, as soon as Joshua succeeded Moses, we find immediately, *that the Lord spake unto Joshua, the son of Nun, &c.* Josh. i. 1. The same of Samuel, Isaiah, and all the rest. But as to Jesus, we only find, that he went about all Galilee, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel, and healing all manner of sickness, and all manner of diseases; whether by art, deception, or supernatural power, is not my business at present to inquire: free-thinkers may, perhaps say, it was something like a spiritual mountebank; but I have only to observe, it was not like a prophet endued with the spirit of prophecy.

And the Evangelist Matthew calls the whole discourse: which takes up the fifth and sixth chapters, a sermon,

not a prophecy. The same we find in Mark, i. 21. *And straightway on the sabbath day, he entered into the synagogue and taught.* Again, ver. 38. *And he said unto them, Let us go into the next towns, that I may preach there also. And he preached in their synagogues, and cast out devils.* The same in Luke. *And he preached in the synagogues of Galilee.* As to John, he seems clear in the opinion of his divinity. (chap. i. 1, 2, 3, &c.) though he afterwards describes him as a teacher only, (chap. vii. 14.) Now, about the midst of the feast, Jesus went up into the temple and taught.

Nay, more, he even preached himself as the light of the world, Ibid. viii. 12. This, I think, is an instance not to be paralleled in scripture; for the duty of a prophet consisted, in his delivery of God's word or message to the people, whether it consisted of reproofs, a calling to repentance, or denouncing of judgment upon them for their disobedience; not in presumptuously preaching himself, but, on the contrary, was always delivered as coming immediately from God, viz. *Thus saith the Lord.* Then the word of the Lord came,** or, *The hand of the Lord was upon me.†* Again, we meet with the same example in John xiv. 6. where Jesus preaches himself. From all which, it is manifest that he was not sent by God, to us as a prophet, seeing he was so deficient in the essential character of a prophet. As to the apostles, I think, they were less entitled to the appellation of prophets; for they only gave themselves up continually to prayer, and to the ministry of the word. Acts vi. 4. And Philip preached Christ.

* Isai. xxxiii. 6, &c. † Jer. i. 4, &c. ‡ Ezek. xxxvii. 1, &c.

Ibid. viii. 5. The same of Saul. *And straightway he preached Christ in the synagogues, that he was the son of God.* Ibid. ix. 20. The same of Paul, who is called an apostle of Jesus. 1 Cor. i. i. The same in 2 Cor. i. 1. Gal. i. 1. Eph. i. 1. Col. i. 1. 1. Tim. i. 1. 2 Tim. i. 1. Tit. i. 1. The same of Peter. See also his first epistle, i. 1. and second and third epistles of John, where he calls himself an *elder*, &c. From all which, it is manifest, that they were not entitled to the appellation of prophets.

Secondly, if we compare Jesus with the rest of the prophets, who succeeded Moses from Joshua to Malachi, we shall find such a manifest contradiction between him and them, as fully demonstrates, that both parties could not be the messengers of God, as God never contradicts himself. For Moses says, in Deu. iv. 2. *Ye shall not add unto the words which I command you, neither shall ye DIMINISH aught from it, that ye may keep the COMMANDMENTS of the Lord your God, which I command you.* This, all the succeeding prophets were commanded to enforce; and which, the last of them did, in a most clear and explicit manner; at the same time closing his prophecy therewith, as intimating thereby that that was the ultimatum of prophecy, *remember ye the law of Moses, my servant, which I commanded unto him in Horeb, for all Israel, with the statutes and judgments.** But Jesus acted in a direct contradiction to the law of Moses; for whereas the law of Moses, expressly commands the adulterer and adulteress to be put to death. *And the man that committeth adultery*

* Malac. iv. 4.

with another man's wife, even he that commits adultery with his neighbor's wife, the adulterer and the adulteress SHALL SURELY BE PUT TO DEATH.† Now, Jesus in defiance of this express command, rescues the adulteress from the just punishment due to her crime;‡ and that, by one of the most extraordinary devices that ever entered into the heart of man; and which, had it been pursued by all other legislators, would speedily have led to the entire subversion and annihilation of all law and good order, for if none were to be admitted as evidence in a court of justice against criminals, but the immaculate, villainy would stalk triumphant, and carry all before her with impunity; but this, thanks be to God, hath never been adopted. Again; the law of Moses commands, that, *When a man hath taken a wife, and married her, and it comes to pass that she find no favor in his eyes, BECAUSE HE HATH FOUND SOME UNCLEANNESSE IN HER, then let him write a bill of divorcement, and give it in her hand, and send her out of his house.* Deut. xxvi. 6. This woman, so divorced by the law of Moses, was allowed to marry again, as well as the man, verse 3, whereas Jesus says, that, *Whosoever shall put away his wife, and marry another, committeth ADULTERY against her.* Mark x. 11. The same of the woman, verse 12.

And the prophet Jeremiah, at the express command of God, enforces the due observance of the sabbath; and in particular, that they bear no burden on the sabbath day, *Thus saith the Lord, Take heed to yourselves, and bear no BURDEN on the sabbath day.* Jer. xvii. 21, 22.

† Levit. xx. 10. ‡ John viii. 3, 4, 5, &c.

But Jesus in direct contradiction to this command of *his father*, by the mouth of his prophets, ordered the man who had the infirmity thirty and eight years, (and whom he cured on the sabbath) *to take up his bed and walk*. John v. 8. Such glaring contradictions against the commandments of Moses, committed by Jesus, could by no means suffer our nation to acknowledge his divine mission; nor accept him as a prophet, when he acted so diametrically opposite to Moses, and the rest of the prophets; consequently, the charge you have brought against us, [page 12, of your letters], "That there is no cause of God's displeasure against us, besides our rejection, and persecution of the *prophets* of our own nation, Christ and the apostles," I freely assert to be ill founded; for by the criterion they have here been tried, it is manifest, that they were not entitled to the appellation of prophets, consequently we cannot be punished for what we were not guilty of; for as they were not *prophets*, we could not, according to the justice of God, be punished for rejecting, or persecuting them, and that, for so many hundred years. Whether the generality of Christians have just reason to pay divine honors to Jesus, or not, as you observe, [page 5,] is not my business at present to enquire, but ought to be settled among Christians themselves; and that, [if I may presume to give my opinion in so weighty a cause] before you had attempted to convert the Jews to Christianity. For do but figure to yourself, dear Sir, how ridiculous it must appear, for you to invite the Jews to embrace, what you yourselves do not rightly understand.

This, is such an absurdity, that I am surprised and astonished, when I reflect, how it was possible that a Divine and Philosopher, of your distinguished rank, in the republic of letters, should overlook it. But if I am not greatly mistaken, I verily believe, that the honor of Jesus, or the propagation of Christianity, are things of little moment in your serious thoughts, notwithstanding all your boasted sincerity. If I have erred, I beg of you to bear with me ; for it is the love of truth that obliges me to speak out : and that I have just cause for entertaining this opinion, appears clearly to every candid and impartial mind. For in your postscript [page 39] you argue thus : “If, therefore, it be in your power to persuade a heathen, that God really spake to your ancestors by Moses, by the force of exactly similar argument, you ought to acknowledge, that the same great Being spake by Christ and the apostles : and on whatever principles you reject the evidences of Christian miracles, any person will be justified in rejecting those on which the truth of your own religion rests.”*

Here we perceive the complete deist, under the most jesuitical arguments; for if God spake to Moses, why not speak to Jesus? and therefore, if you will not believe that God spake to Jesus, I will not believe that he spake to Moses. Now, therefore, you must either believe *both*, or I will believe *none*. For if you say that of Jesus is false, I say that of Moses is false also. *Ergo*, both are false.

* If this is proof of his insincerity, it is proof of the insincerity of thousands of others, as many of the most pious Christians believe the same as he has stated, page 39. EDITOR.

As to what you assert, [p. 10] "But their descendants repented of this; that is, the persecutions of the prophets, as we read in the books of "Ezra and Nehemiah." And from which, I suppose, you would infer, that as they had so solemnly repented of the persecutions of the prophets, and had "the " return of God's favour in consequence of it," our present dispersion cannot be owing to any other crime [i. e. the persecution of the prophets] but what was subsequent to it, is of the same tenure as the other parts of your letters, viz. the blending of truth and falsehood together, in such a manner as not to be easily separated. That they fasted and prayed, I grant, but not for the sin of persecuting the prophets, for no such thing is to be met with in Ezra, or Nehemiah, as I shall clearly prove.

The first fast is recorded in Ezra viii. 21. and which was to seek a right way for them in safety from their enemies. *Then I proclaimed a fast there at the river Shara, that we might afflict ourselves before our God, to seek of him a right way for us, and for our little ones, and for all our substance. For I was ashamed to require of the king a band of soldiers and horsemen, to help us against the enemy in the way, &c.* The mourning, praying, and exhortation to repentance, which we have recorded in the 9th and 10th chapters of Ezra, were entirely on account of the strange women which they had taken; but there is not one word in the whole book concerning their repentance, for "persecuting, and cutting off, the prophets." As to Nehemiah, we find in the sixth chapter, an account of a fast, and a repentance; and also a confession of God's goodness, &c. The former seems [as in Ezra] also in consequence of strange wo-

men; and the latter, a general confession of God's goodness to the nation, from the call of Abram, to that day; in which the slaying of the prophets is just mentioned in general terms, among all the other crimes which they had been guilty of, and which was the cause of the dreadful afflictions brought on their fathers, kings, princes, priests, and prophets, as well as themselves. All which is a demonstration of the fallacy of what you have advanced.

I shall now attempt to point out the real cause of our present captivity; in which, will be demonstrated two propositions, viz. First, that this present captivity is a continuation of the Babylonish captivity; and, secondly, that in consequence thereof, we suffer for *the sins* of our ancestors; and "That a captivity of seventy years only, without any peculiar hardships during the continuance of it," (Letter II. page 12,) WAS NOT deemed sufficient for all our offences committed before that time; as will be fully evinced, from the following prophecy, when clearly understood: The true knowledge of which, would have prevented you from being so hasty in attempting to confute Rabbi Isaac therewith; or having adduced it in support of the doctrine concerning the Messiah, (Letter IV. page 26, 27, &c.) to which it hath not the least tendency.

The prophecy: * "Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people, and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy,

* Dan. ix. 24, &c.

and to anoint the most holy. Know therefore and understand, *that* from the going forth of the commandment, to restore and build Jerusalem, unto the anointed prince, *shall be* seven weeks, and threescore and two weeks the street shall be built again, and the wall, even in troublous times. And after threescore and two weeks shall the anointed be cut off and not to him :* and the city and sanctuary shall be destroyed *by* the people of the prince that shall come ; and the end thereof shall be with a flood, and unto the end of the war desolations are determined. And he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week : and half the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease, and for the overspreading of abomination, he shall make it desolate, even unto the consummation, *and* that is determined, shall be poured upon the desolate.”

This prophecy, which you and a number of others have laid such stress on, as pointing out the precise time of the coming of the Messiah, I shall fully demonstrate, hath not the most distant reference to that event.

For the better explanation of the prophecy, it is proper that we attend a little to the context. In the preceding chapter, it is observed, that when Daniel was informed of the vision of the two thousand and three hundred days, he sought for the meaning ; but not rightly comprehending it, he judged, that that great number, was a flat contradiction to the word of God as delivered by Jeremiah, concerning the redemption at the end of seventy years ;† and from thence conclu-

* This is the real sense of the Hebrew *Vaen Lo*, as will be shewn in the explanation.

† Jerem. xxv. 11, 12. and xxix. 10.

ded, that the captivity was prolonged, on account of the sins of the nation. This doubt arose, from a deficiency in his understanding, (of the prophecy,) and therefore, the angel said unto him *I am now come forth to give thee skill and UNDERSTANDING.* For there is nothing else necessary to remove this doubt from your breast, but the proper understanding of the truth of the vision. And, as to the expression, *At the beginning of thy supplications the commandment came forth,* that was to inform him, he was not to imagine, that on account of his prayer, God had changed his purpose, and in consequence thereof, commanded the redemption; but that as soon as he began to pray, and God saw his perplexity, in consequence of the weakness of his understanding, the royal command went forth from him, that he should come to him, to make him understand the truth of those matters that were to come to pass in future time. And as the angel Gabriel had explained to him the second vision, from whence his doubt arose, it was incumbent on him to perfect the explanation: and this is what is meant by the expression "*to shew,*" i. e. as I began the explanation; the commandment was, that I should finish it.

And the word *Chemudoeth*, which the angel uses, not denote *beloved*, as in the English translation, but *desire*. The sense of which is, for thou greatly desirest, and affectest to understand hidden things, be not therefore perplexed, but *understand the matter, and consider the vision*: and the *matter* here mentioned, is the prophecy of Jeremiah, which is above mentioned in verse the second. And the *vision*, is that which he had heard, of the *two thousand three hundred days*. He

therefore, mentions each specifically, and desires him to understand them distinctly ; for then all his doubts would be removed ; all which was fully explained to him, in what the angel observed in the *seventy weeks*, &c. But, before I proceed to the explanation, it is proper, that I should shew in what manner the answer agreed with the intent of the question ; and the reason of his making mention of *weeks*, and not of years, or times, as in the other visions.

It appears clear to me, (as the learned Abarbanel has observed) that Daniel, from the words of Jeremiah, perceived, that God would visit all the nations, and punish them ; as may be observed from the following prophecy : * *For thus saith the Lord God of Israel unto me, Take the wine cup of this fury at my hand, and cause all the nations, to whom I send thee, to drink it.*— He then mentions, first, Jerusalem ; afterwards the king of Egypt, the kings of Uz, the Philistines, Edom, Moab, and the children of Ammon ; the kings of Tyre and Sidon, and all the isles beyond the sea, &c. &c. And at last, the king of Sheshack, which is Babylon.

He also farther observed ; that the visitation of each nation would be at the (end) of seventy years, as Isaiah observes of Tyre ; which was one of the nations. *And it came to pass, in that day, that Tyre shall be forgotten seventy years, Isai. xxiii. 15.* The same of Babylon. *And it shall come to pass, when SEVENTY YEARS are accomplished, I will punish the king of Babylon. Jer. xxv. 12.* And as it is also observed in the next verse, *All that is written in this book, which Jeremiah hath proph-*

* Jer xx, 1 &c.

esied against ALL THE NATIONS. From whence it is clear, that as the visitation of Babylon was to be *seventy years*, so was that of all the other nations to be ; for so had the wisdom of God decreed to wait, according to this number. For which reason, Daniel judged, that the sins of his nation would likewise be done away by the *seventy years* of the captivity of Babylon. And therefore, the angel informed him, that this was not the case with respect to his nation ; for that their wickedness was come up before him, and their sin was very grievous ; and therefore, their sins would not be atoned for by the *seventy years*, as the rest of the nations ; to whom he allowed seventy years, to see if they would repent ; and if not, would then punish them.

But, verily, as to Israel, he would not only wait *seventy years*, but *seven times seventy years* ; after which, their kingdom should be cut off, and their dominion cease, and they return into captivity, to finish an atonement for their transgressions. And this is the real meaning of *Shabueem shibeem* ; *seventy weeks*, i. e. not *seventy years*, as you judged, but *seven times seventy years* is determined on them.

Hence the propriety of the answer to the question, is manifest, as also the expressions of *weeks* or *sevens*.

These seventy weeks are, without doubt, four hundred and ninety years ; the time from the destruction of the first temple, till the destruction of the second.

This, it was the more necessary for the angel to inform him of, because Daniel judged, that after their return from Babylon, by means of that visitation, *all their sins*, would be entirely done away ; for which

reason, the angel shewed him, that it would not be so ; for that, the visitation of Babylon, was not a *perfect redemption* because there would not be a *general collection* of *all* that were in captivity, and *all the tribes* ; save only a few of Judah and Benjamin, and such as fell to them, and those not of the most respectable. And, after their return, they were not free, but were under the dominion of the Persians, Medes, and Greeks ; as also of the Romans : And although they at one time threw off their yoke, and had kings of the Asmoneans, and Herodians, yet, was there no king among them of the seed of David ; neither had they the *ark*, with the *cherubim*, and the *shechinah*, or divine presence, which rested thereon ; nor the *Ureem* and *Tumeem*, nor the *spirit of prophecy*, &c. All which, is a manifestation that it was not a perfect redemption, but only a visitation that God was pleased to visit them, in that they were allowed to build a temple to the Lord, *by the permission* of Cyrus, and according to the *measure given by him*. This was, that they might the better be enabled to work their repentance, and make an atonement for their sins ; but, as that was not the case, and they did evil as their fathers, their kingdom was to be cut off, and their dominion cease, after the four hundred and ninety years from the Babylonish captivity. And, this is the real meaning of the word *Nechtach* ; a cutting off, or separation of the people from the holy city.

He also gave him to understand, by the word *Nechtach*, a separation : That, as in the second vision, which he saw of the morning and evening, and which were of the number of two thousand three hundred ;

he was not therefore to imagine that they were connected, so as to form a series ; or be of one nature, either in captivity or repentance ; or a return to there former honour ; but that there should be a cutting off, or separation of seventy weeks from them. And, as his expression was very brief and obscure, he afterwards explained it more at large in the following verses, as will be shewn hereafter.

The first end proposed by the captivity, is to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make expiation for iniquity. The meaning of this is, that the sins are accounted as an impurity and filthiness ; and which is the cause of their removal from their Creator ; in the same manner, as it is improper to appear before kings or princes in dirty or filthy garments. And, as these filthy spots cannot be removed from off the garments, but by means of washing and scouring of them, so, in like manner, is man to act by his soul. And agreeably to this, says Solomon, *Let thy garments be always WHITE, i. e. clean.* Eccle. ix. 8. And so says the prophet, *Wash ye, make ye clean, put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes.* Isai. i. 16. And the Psalmist says, *Wash me thoroughly from mine iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin.* Psal. ii. 2. And therefore, afflictions are a necessary consequence in relation to sin, for the cleansing of the soul. But, as repentance does in like manner cleanse and purify the soul from sin, God doth therefore long defer his anger from the sinner, to give him an opportunity to repent : but if he does not, he receives his punishment. Now, it is manifest that while the nation of Israel were in possession of the land of Canaan, they were exceed-

ingly wicked and sinful before God ; particularly in idolatry, whoredom, shedding of innocent blood, and in abolishing the seventh year of rest.* For which reason, it was but just, that they should be punished for those crimes : and therefore, when they were carried away captive to Babylon for the sin of not keeping the sabbath of the land, agreeable to what Moses foretold ;† they had also the promise of their return by Jeremiah. *For thus saith the Lord, that after seventy years be accomplished at Babylon, I will visit you, and perform my good words towards you, in causing you to return to this place,* Jer. xxix. 10. Hence, it is manifest, that their visitation was to follow that of the punishment of Babylon, as mentioned in Jer. xxv. 12. And which was actually the case : For by the death of Balshazzar, and the ruin of the Babylonian empire which followed, Cyrus coming to the throne of Persia, gave leave to the Jews to return to their own land : This being the sole intent of the promise of Jeremiah. Which return was, that they might repent, in order to merit a perfect redemption. And this is the meaning of the prophet, where he says, *For I know the thoughts that I think towards you, saith the Lord, &c.* Jer. xxix. 11.

These thoughts are not meant of their visitation, or return from Babylon, but the latter redemption by the Messiah. And therefore he says, in the following verses, *Then SHALL YE call upon me, and ye shall go and pray unto me, &c.* This is not a promise, but a com-

* Levit. xxv. 4.

† Then shall the land enjoy her sabbath, as long as it lieth desolate, and ye be in your enemies' land, &c. Ib. xxvi. 34.

mand, that they should repent, and pray unto him ; as the prophet further says, *And ye shall seek me, and find me, WHEN YE SHALL SEARCH FOR ME WITH ALL YOUR HEART. And I will be found of you, saith the Lord, and I will turn away your captivity, and I will gather you from ALL THE NATIONS, and from ALL THE PLACES whither I have driven you, saith the Lord.* This, it is manifest, could not denote their return from Babylon : For that was not from *all places* and *all nations*.

And that they might obtain this sovereign good, they were commanded to repent and pray to him. This, perfectly coincides with the words of Moses, that by means of their repentance, God will gather their dispersions. Levit. xxvi. 40, &c.

And, because during the time of the second temple, instead of their repenting, (as they ought to have done) they added to their former sins, by murder, whoredom, injustice, violence, and rapine ; as also by the heresies of the Sadducees, &c. It was therefore that this captivity was determined upon them ; not for the crimes which they committed during the second temple only, but for *all* they had committed from the time of their first entrance into the land, in the days of Joshua, till the destruction of the first temple, by Nebuchadnezzar ; as well as those during the second temple. In the whole, near one thousand three hundred years . during the greatest part of which, they were continually doing evil in the sight of the Lord.

And as for this length of time, in which they had sinned, they were but a few years in Babylon ; they consequently were not cleansed but of a small part of their sins ; and therefore, the Supreme Being had determin-

ed, that they should go into a very long captivity, (unless they repented) to receive their punishment, and accomplish their sins, according to what the prophet Jeremiah says. *The punishment of thine iniquity is accomplished, O daughter of Zion.* Lament. iv. 22. For which reason, the angel made use of the same expression, *For to make an accomplishment of sins, &c.*

I must further observe, that the angel made use of three different expressions, *Lechalay, Ulhatem, Ulcapair, For to finish; and for to make an accomplishment; and for to make an atonement.* The reason of which is, that for the sin of not keeping the sabbatical years they were punished by the captivity in Babylon; but, for the three great crying sins, viz. *idolatry, murder and whoredom*, which they had been guilty of during all the time they were in the land they did not receive any punishment, during the Babylonish captivity, by reason of the shortness of its duration; and therefore, this long captivity was necessary *for to finish the transgression, i. e. IDOLATRY, and for to make an accomplishment, for sin, i. e. WHOREDOM, and to make an atonement for iniquity, i. e. MURDER.*

Hence, the first END proposed by the captivity, is clearly explained. And, as the explanation of prophecies, is generally very short, or only by indication, the angel judged it sufficient in saying, *Nechtach is cut off* indicating thereby, that the kingdom, or government would be cut off, and they return into captivity.

The second END proposed is, *Ullabee, Sadec Olamun*, and to bring in everlasting righteousness. The intent of which expression is, that, as the children of

Israel were in Egypt four hundred years, in order that by their miraculous departure from thence, the truth of the existence of the blessed God, his power, and particular providence might be made manifest, as Moses was expressly instructed to say, *To the END thou mayest know THAT I AM THE LORD in the midst of the earth.* *Exod. viii. 22.* *That thou mayest know that there is NONE LIKE ME in all the earth.* *Ibid. ix. 14.* Again, *And that my name may be declared throughout all the earth.* *Ibid. xiv.* This manifestation, was perfected by the children of Israel only, obtaining the true knowledge of God ; so, in like manner, was it the intent of the Supreme Being, to dignify all mankind whom he saw plunged into the most confused and erroneous principles, not having the least sense of the truth. And as it is not to be supposed that the intent of the Supreme Being, in the creation of man, can be frustrated, or vain, as all that he has created was for his GLORY; he hath thought proper, according to his superior wisdom, to shew mankind the way wherein they must walk, and the work that they must do ; so that sins shall be consumed out of the earth, and the idols entirely cut off ; and that they may all know and understand that the kingdom is the Lord's, and that he is the only Governor among nations ; and that the firm belief of his UNITY may be so unalterably fixed in their hearts, that they may attain to the end for which they were created. This, is to be obtained by bringing his people low in this long captivity : so that when they are redeemed therefrom, and all the outcasts of Israel are gathered together ; also the resurrection of the dead, (and which is to follow immediately) all the nations of

the earth will, by means thereof arrive at the true belief of his divinity, and receive his kingly government. And, as this purpose is of the greatest magnitude, as ALL nations are to receive the true knowledge of God, it was consequently necessary, that this captivity should be thus long; because, the means ought to be proportioned to the effect. And, as a captivity of four hundred years in Egypt was necessary, for the nation of the Jews only, to arrive at the true knowledge of God, it must consequently be necessary for this captivity to be much longer, as being the means of bringing ALL the nations of the earth to the true faith, agreeably to what the prophet Isaiah says. *And it shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; AND ALL NATIONS shall flow unto it. And many people shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob, AND HE WILL TEACH US OF HIS WAYS, AND WE WILL WALK IN HIS PATHS; for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.* Isai. ii. 2. 3. And verse 20. *In that day a man shall cast away his idols of silver, and his idols of gold, which they made; (each one) for himself to worship, &c.* And as he in another place observes, *ALL ye inhabitants of the world, and dwellers on the earth, when he lifted up an ensign on the mountains; and when he bloweth a trumpet, hear ye.* Isai. xviii. 3. And the prophet Zephaniah says, *For then will I turn to the people a pure language, that they may ALL call upon the Lord, to serve him with one consent.* Zeph. iii. 9. These, besides innumerable other passages of scripture, all testi-

fy, that by means of the restoration of the Jews, all nations will be brought to the knowledge of the true God, And in this sense it was, that the angel said to Daniel, *to bring in everlasting righteousness*; i. e. the captivity which is determined upon thy people, and upon thy holy city, in order to BRING IN EVERLASTING RIGHTEOUSNESS.

The third *end* proposed is, *Ulhatom, Hazon, Hana-bee*, and to seal the vision and prophecy. Not according to the sense given in the English translation, *to seal up*; i. e. to cease; but quite the reverse: for whereas before the destruction of the temple, &c. it was the place of the influence of prophecy; and which produced a number of prophets in Israel; yet, after the destruction, as the Psalmist observes, *We see not our signs*; THERE IS no more any prophet, &c. Psal. lxxix. 9. But at the restoration of Israel, the spirit of prophecy will be again restored to them; as the prophet says, *And it shall come to pass afterwards, (that) I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophecy, &c.* Joel ii. 28. *And I will show wonders in the heavens, and in the earth, &c.* Ibid. ii. 30. The meaning of which is, that in those days the spirit of prophecy being restored to Israel, the prophets will be enabled to work miracles, as aforetime. This is the intent of the expression, *to seal the prophecy*; i. e. the prophecies will be then publicly authenticated; as if sealed with the seal of God.

He also thereby alluded to this long captivity, as the means of perfecting all the prophecies foretold, concerning the captivity of the nation; their redemption, and the resurrection of their dead; as the sole end and

purpose of all the prophecies ; and which being accomplished, the spirit of prophecy will again return to the nation, as heretofore.

The fourth end proposed is *Velimsoach*, *Kodes*, *Kaddishim*, and to anoint the Holy of Holies. As to the Holy of Holies, that is explained in the law*, to denote the most holy place ; and, as in the second temple, the Holy of Holies was not anointed, (as the oil was not to be found) and which was the cause, that the Shechinah, (or divine presence) which was manifested by a visible cloud resting over the mercy seat†, was wanting in the second temple.

And the want of this, so necessary to the Holy of Holies, is allowed even by a Christian author of great note‡, (who, it is to be presumed, cannot be suspected of favoring my hypothesis) who speaking of the things wanting in the second temple, observes of the anointing oil, “ But this (the oil) being wanting in the second temple, the want thereof caused a want of sanctity in all things else belonging to it.” The angel, therefore, informs him, that at the time of their redemption, and appearance of the true Messiah, the anointing oil, which was concealed, or destroyed, at the destruction of the first temple, will be again restored to them ; and with which, they will then anoint the Holy of Holies, a peculiar mark of its being chosen by God ! as also of its duration : And which was the reason that the second temple was not anointed ; to show, that its duration was not to be eternal, as that mentioned by Ezekiel ;§ and which is to be according to the pattern shown to that prophet.

* Exod. xxvi. 33, &c.

† Levit. xvi. 2, &c.

‡ See Prideaux's Connect. vol. i. p. 193.

§ Ezek. xliii. 10, &c.

Hence it is clear, that the angel in general terms informed him, that, as in the Babylonish captivity, and also during the second temple, they would not be cleansed of their manifold sins; they were therefore, after these seventy weeks, which were determined upon them, [unless they sincerely repented] to go into captivity, to finish transgression, &c. "and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal the vision and prophecy, and to anoint the most holy."

And, after the angel had thus expressed himself in general terms, he descended to particulars; and laid down four propositions, (if I may be allowed the term) or eriods. First, "Know therefore and understand, (that) from the going forth of the commandment, to restore and to build Jerusalem, unto the ANOINTED PRINCE, (shall be) SEVEN WEEKS."

I have already observed,* that the vision of the seventy weeks, was in order to remove the doubt which Daniel had entertained of the prophecies of Jeremiah, concerning the visitation; the angel therefore informed him that the case was the reverse of what he thought; and that so far from prolonging it, God would, on the contrary, hasten it; and that, at the end of seven weeks, or forty-nine years: for so long was it from the destruction of the first temple, till Cyrus,† who was THE ANOINTED PRINCE, gave leave to build the second.

Second, *And three score and two weeks the street shall be built again, and the wall even in troublous times.* Herewith he gave him to understand, that after the seven weeks before mentioned, there would come a time in which the building would be hindered; and which was on account of the letter written by Rehum and Shimshai to Artaxerxes; and who in consequence thereof, made the building cease, till the second year of the reign of Darius, who gave leave to finish the building; and which, after being finished, continued till the coming of the Romans, sixty-two weeks, beside the last week, at the beginning of which, the Romans came and war-

* Page 82. † "Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, Cyrus." Isai. xlv. 1.

red against them: and at length entirely destroyed the cities of Judah, Jerusalem, &c. For the time that Cyrus first gave leave to build the temple, till its completion, was twenty-one years; and its duration, four hundred and twenty; in the whole sixty-three weeks, or four hundred and forty-one years; but the angel made his division at sixty-two weeks, as he afterwards described what was to come to pass in the last week. And by the word *Tashube* it shall return, he alluded to the leave given by Darius, *to return to the building again*. At which time, the seventy years of the captivity of Babylon were accomplished.

And by the words, in troublous times, he informed him, that, during the building the temple, they would have continual trouble, and alarms from their enemies, as mentioned in Ezra. And in Nehem. iv. 17. we find, that while one half of them wrought in the work the other half were obliged to hold the spears, the shields, &c. And even after the finishing of it; they would frequently be troubled, and persecuted; which was really the case; as may be observed of the troubles, and persecutions they underwent from both Greeks and Romans: not to mention their intestine troubles. All which plainly show, that it was not a thorough redemption.

Third, *And after threescore and two weeks shall THE ANOINTED be cut off, AND NOT TO HIM: And the city and sanctuary shall be destroyed by the people of the prince that shall come, &c.*

The anointed* here mentioned was King Agrippa, who was put to death by Vespasian about four years be-

* The word *Maseach* denotes the anointed; and who can properly be called so, but the king. *Who was the Lord's anointed?* as David expressed himself, in regard to Saul; *For who can stretch forth his hand against the Lord's ANOINTED?* 1. Sam. xxvi. 9. And the reason that the king was so called is, because he was anointed at the express command of God, by the hand of the prophet. But this can in no wise be applied to Jesus; who after all my researches, I cannot find, was anointed by any prophet, or other person, unless the woman pouring ointment on his head, may be so called. See Mark, xvi. 3.

fore the destruction of the temple : as was also his son : which is shown by these words *Vayen Lo* and not to to him, i. e. there shall be no more of him : for since his death, there has been no more kingly power in the Jewish nation to this day. And why ? because “the city
“ and sanctuary shall be destroyed *by* the people of the
“ prince that shall come : and the end thereof shall
“ be with a flood, and unto the end of the war desola-
“ tions are determined.” All which, was fully accom-
plished under Titus, who commanded them to demol-
ish the walls, the houses, &c.

And, after having mentioned the particulars of the sixty-nine weeks, viz. the first seven, and the sixty-two, he proceeds to the last week in the seventy : *Vahigbeer, Bareet, Lrabim, Shabuang, achad. And he shall* STRENGTHEN *the covenant with many for one week.* This is spoken of the prince, mentioned in the preceding verse, who coming at the beginning of the last week, was continually offering peace to the Jews, according to the emperor’s desire ; and therefore, the angel made use of the verb *Vahigbeer*, and he shall strengthen : i. e. he shall endeavor to strengthen the covenant, that was between them : and for that reason, he did not say that he should make a covenant with them, but only to strengthen the former one.

As to the expression, *And in the midst [or half] of the week*, (i. e. the seventieth) *he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease.* The prediction was fully verified ; for on account of the great troubles of the siege, the sacrifice, and the offering, ceased from the temple, three years and a half before its destruction. And he further observes, that all this was to come upon them, *for the overspreading of the abominations, it should be made desolate* : i. e. the abominations which they had committed, during both the first and second temples. Hence the answer to Daniel’s doubt was complete ; which was to inform him, that the visitation of the Babylonian captivity was not prolonged, but rather hastened ; but that, if they should not repent and mend their ways, they would after the period allowed

them, go into a long captivity, to expiate their former transgressions, &c.

This is what appears to me ; and I doubt not, to every impartial, and candid person also, when duly considered, as perfectly conformable to the whole context, beginning from the second verse of the chapter. *In the first year of his reign, I Daniel understood by books the number of years, whereof the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah the prophet, that he would accomplish SEVENTY YEARS in the desolation of Jerusalem.* Hence, according to the explanation here given, it is manifest, that the answer was perfectly calculated to remove his doubt, which was all that was intended by it. But if you, or any other christian, should think proper to dispute the sense here given, I mean then, to take a review of the explanations given by the Christian commentators : and I pledge myself to produce such unsurmountable objections to their different systems, as will clearly point out the fallacy of them, and firmly fix the truth of mine.

As to what you object against Rabbi Isaac, " That (from the destruction of the temple, by Nebuchadnezzar, to that by Titus, was a period of more than 650 years, " is, I presume, not according to scripture ; but, on the contrary, is founded on the opinion embraced by Christian writers, from profane authors ; who hold, that from Cyrus, King of Persia, to Darius, who was conquered by Alexander, there were fourteen Kings. But, this is directly contrary to scripture ; for in the vision which he saw (chap. x. 11.) the angel informed him, that there were to be three kings more in Persia, besides Cyrus ; in the third year of whose reign, he saw the vision ; which plainly shews, that there were to be but four kings in all, viz. Cyrus, his son Cambyzes, Ahasuerus, the husband of Ester, and Darius, called in scripture Artaxerxes.

I am, &c.

LETTER II.

*Of the divine Mission of CHRIST, compared with that of
MOSES.*

DEAR SIR,

YOU are pleased to tell us, (page 14, of your letters,) "That our ancestors rejected those who came from God," (I suppose you mean Christ and the apostles) "and who brought the same testimonials of a divine mission that Moses, and the preceding prophets, brought before them;" i. e. the working of miracles.

All this is easily asserted, but not proved: for, in my humble opinion, you ought to have proved; first, that the miracles which Moses wrought, were the *especial* proof of his divine mission: and, second, that those which Jesus wrought, were in like manner such, as no human being could work without the immediate assistance of God; and that there was also the same necessity for their being performed. But as you have not thought proper to proceed in this fair manner, I mean to take the task upon myself; and shall, therefore, in the first place prove, that Moses was not believed by the Jewish nation merely for the miracles which he wrought, (although there was the greatest necessity for them;) and secondly, that there was not only no such necessity for those of Jesus, but that they were scarcely just or rational; and consequently, cannot be offered as proofs of his divine mission, in comparison with that of Moses,

As to the miracles of Moses, there was the greatest necessity for them. For instance, the plagues he brought upon the Egyptians, were necessary for the redemption of the Jewish nation; as was the dividing of the Red Sea, and the drowning of the Egyptians, for their farther deliverance from them. The manna from Heaven, and the water from the rock, were necessary for their subsistence in the wilderness: the same of all the rest.

And, although they were performed in the sight of both the Jewish and Egyptian nations, yet were they

only preparatory to that, which was to fix their firm belief in the divine mission of Moses, viz. God speaking with Moses face to face, in the presence of SIX HUNDRED THOUSAND MEN, besides women and children; as mentioned in Exodus, chap. xix. 9. *And the Lord said unto Moses, Lo, I come unto thee in a thick cloud, that the people may hear when I speak unto thee, AND BELIEVE THEE FOR EVER.*

This, Sir, was the especial proof of the divine mission of Moses: and indeed a greater cannot be required, as Moses himself emphatically expresses it, “for ask now of the days that are past, which were before thee, since the day that God created man upon the earth, and (ask) from one side of the heaven unto the other, whether there hath been (any such thing) as this great thing is, or hath been heard like it? Did (ever) people hear the voice of God speaking out of the midst of fire, as thou hast heard? Deut. iv. 32, 33. And it is this that God meant by the expression, “And this (shall be) a sign unto thee *that I have sent thee*: when thou hast brought forth the people out of Egypt, ye shall serve God upon this mountain. Exod. iii. 12.

For this was the essential proof of the divine mission of Moses, because, they not only heard God speak to Moses, but to themselves also; by which they were fully satisfied of the existence of the spirit of prophecy, as we find they expressed themselves, “And we have heard his voice out of the midst of the fire: we have seen this day *that God doth talk with man*, and he liveth. Deut. v. 24.

And what is still a greater proof of his divine mission, and that the nation was fully convinced thereof, is, that they from thenceforward, agreed to receive as coming from God, whatever he should deliver to them; because, they then were fully satisfied of his mission. Hear their own words. “Now therefore why should we die? for this great fire will consume us. If we continue to hear the voice of the Lord our God any more, then we shall die. For who (is there) of all flesh that hath heard the voice of the living God, speaking out of

the midst of the fire, as we have, and lived? Go thou near and hear all that the Lord our God shall say, and speak thou unto us all, that the Lord our God shall speak unto thee, and we will hear it, and do it. Ibid. 25, 26, 27, and Exod. xv. 19.

And, as it was by such extraordinary means, that they came to entertain a firm belief in his divine mission, it hath never been effaced from the Jewish nation; for notwithstanding, that they fell into idolatry and other crimes, yet, at no time whatever did the nation deny the divine mission of Moses. No, Sir, not the destruction of our government, and the consequent dispersion of our nation; the persecutions of Infidels and Christians, and the almost universal contempt of nations, have ever been able to root it out of our hearts.

Hence it is manifest, from the words of God himself, (and who, we must grant, was fully acquainted with the sentiments of the nation) that miracles only were not sufficient to establish a firm belief in the divine mission of Moses; much less can those of Jesus, which you freely acknowledge, cannot vie with those recorded of Moses, in point of magnitude and splendor, be thought so: more especially, if we consider the strong injunction laid on us by Moses, not to add or diminish from the law. "Ye shall not add unto the word, which I command you, neither shall ye diminish (ought) from it. Deut. iv. 2. and xii. 3. Whereas Christians hold, that Jesus had power to abolish the Mosaical dispensation, and which they say he actually did. And although you, and some other Christians believe the perpetual obligation of the law of Moses; yet, I suppose, that a person of your knowledge and experience need not be informed, that, that is not the sentiment of Christians in general; and this leads me to consider your attempt to convert the Jews, to what you call Christianity, as both preposterous, and useless. Preposterous; because you must be sensible, that to convert a nation such as the Jews, to Christianity, the professors thereof ought to be unanimous, in w the work of salvation consists;

(otherwise they might be deterred therefrom, by reason of the difficulty attending the making a proper choice of that which is right;) that this is not the case with what is called Christianity, I submit to the judgment of every candid and impartial person. For, if we go to the *Catholic church*, we are told, that out of the pale thereof, there is no salvation; and consequently, must submit to believe, transubstantiation; the worshipping or praying to saints and images, with a whole train of *et ceteras*, or go to the devil. And, although the reformed churches (with the whole body of dissenters) are more charitable; yet, unless a person firmly believes the doctrine of the Trinity, and the merits of the blood and sufferings of Christ, as the Messiah and Saviour of the world, there is no salvation for him. Nay, even you yourself, and those that are of your opinion, are not considered as Christians, by those that account themselves orthodox; as I understand, from both clergy and laity, with whom I have conversed. And what is more, you are included in the same condemnation as the Jews, for not believing in the doctrine of the Trinity; as I perceive by the following paragraph, which Mr. Lindley, in his "Sequel to the Apology for resigning the vicarage of Catterick," observes, is taken from page 30, of an "Answer to the Rev. Mr. Romaine's *Practixa*' Commentary on the one hundred and seventh Psalm."

As I am not possessed of either the Commentary, or Answer; I shall give it in Mr. Lindley's own words. In page 100, we meet with a surprising accusation against the Jews, that "they are now without a God, because they have rejected the true God, the blessed Trinity of their fathers, and worship they know not what. They have set up some strange kind of an infinitely extended metaphysical Being, whom they call the one supreme God and who never had any existence, but what the enemies of Christianity have been pleased to give him." Romaine's Practical Commentary. "This is a new description of Atheism. To believe one sapreme God, is

with ignorant zeal asserted to be the same thing as to be without a God." But I ask, in the words of Mr. Lindsey what is atheism or what blasphemy, if denying the existence of ONE Supreme God be not? And may not I say, in vindication of the Jews, against this malevolent charge, that if they worship one Supreme God, they do worship the God of their fathers? Do they not worship the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, in whom they believed? The God of Moses, to whom he declared himself by the name I AM? The God described in the law and the prophets, as the only living and true God. And my author farther observes, "But the author's zeal cannot stop here. Christians are included in the same condemnation with the Jews, if they do not assent to this new* article of his own invented creed." Sequel to the Apology, page 226.

And can you imagine, that a whole nation would forsake a religion given by God himself, for such manifest contradictory opinions; and which, according to your doctrine, are *both* far from true Christianity? What is the poor Jew now to choose? Why he is in a worse plight than the idolatrous Jews in the time of Ahab, for they halted between two opinions only, as Elijah told them; (1. Kings, xviii. 21.) but here are *three*. Am I not now justified in calling your attempt preposterous: but perhaps you will tell me that what you profess is right, and that, "you believe in the perpetual obligation of ALL the laws which Moses prescribed to our nation," (page 8 of your letters.) If so, I at once pronounce your attempt to be nugatory. For can we do more by embracing Christianity, than adhere to the law of Moses, even according to your hypothesis? surely not.

* If I understand my author rightly, I must differ from him in this; for I always understood that the self-existence, and equality of Christ with the Father, &c. was always held by the Trinitarians; consequently it cannot be a *new* invented article.

You say, p. 21, "Had Jesus been an impostor, like others, by whom have you been imposed upon since?" Now the love of truth obliges me to tell you plainly, that according to your hypothesis, Jesus must be that impostor. Hear the words of a reverend and dignified clergyman of the church of England, and attentively consider the shocking alternative that he has put the character of Jesus upon. They are not my words: I am not accountable for them: Christians themselves must look to it; for it is they that give infidels cause to triumph. "Either our Lord was more than a mere man, or even than a mere angel: nay, either he is that great I AM, which had an existence, not only before Abraham, but before the world began, and upholds all things by the word of his power, or else he must have been one of the falsest and vilest of the human race, for making such groundless pretensions." And a little farther," "That if this system* be really true, the scriptures of course must be false, and Christ and his apostles be ranked among the greatest hypocrites and impostors that ever appeared on earth."†

I must now ask you once more, whether this is the religion, that you with so much sincerity and good will invite the Jews to embrace? Were it not that charity forbids my entertaining such a thought, I should be apt to pronounce the whole a farce. And if you are really in earnest, and wish to convert the Jews, to what you call Christianity, I think you must produce more substantial proofs in support of your hypothesis, than what you have yet done. And, if I might presume to offer my opinion in so weighty a cause, I think, that the fairest method, and that which is the likeliest to lead to conviction on either side, is, to take a review of all the proph-

*The Unitarian.

† This is more like the language of a mad man than any thing else.

ecies concerning the Messiah, from Moses to Malachi; and compare them with the acts of Jesus, recorded in the New Testament; to see whether or no they have been fulfilled in his person. This, is the method I took myself to search for truth: for I am not ashamed to tell you, that I am a Jew by choice; and not because I was born a Jew: far from it: for I am clearly of opinion, that every person endowed with ratiocination, ought to have a clear idea of the truth of revelation, and a true ground for his faith; as far as human wisdom can go.

And it is this, that David meant in his charge to Solomon. "And thou, Solomon, my son, know the God of thy father, and serve him with a perfect heart." 1. Chron. xxviii. 9.

Now, it is not possible for any one to know God; but what David meant thereby was, that he should not do as the heathens did, who inherited their religion from father to son, without having any true grounds for their faith. No, says he, thou shalt not do so, but *understand* by thy sense and reason, that, the God of thy father, is alone worthy to be served; and then, as a natural consequence, thou wilt serve him with a perfect heart. For it is manifest, that he who hath searched, and found just ground for the truth of his faith, will always serve God with a more fervent devotion, than he who receives his religion, as he does his inheritance.

If the scheme above proposed was to be pursued, I think we should soon come to a decision: for it is not the name of Messiah, but the character of the person foretold by the prophets, that is to be regarded, (as you also acknowledge, page 27) and the events to be accomplished at his coming.

If all the prophecies have been fulfilled in Jesus, he must be the person foretold; if not, (which, I am pretty confident I can prove) why then, he cannot be the person prophesied of. Hence it is manifest, that this is the only rational method, to be pursued in a controver-

sy of this kind ; we should then see, whether we have really fallen into the mistake (as you assert, of not distinguishing between a "suffering Messiah, and that Prince of the house of David" under whom we are to enjoy the great prosperity that is promised to us "in the latter days. For as you observe, page 35) "the Messiah we look for will come."

Now, I should be highly obliged to you, if you will point out to me those texts of scripture which distinguish the one from the other. For I must freely acknowledge, that notwithstanding I have frequently read the Bible in the original language, in which I have some little knowledge ; yet, have I not been fortunate enough to meet with them. Perhaps, my eyes were *holden*, that I should not see them ; and you are ordained to open them. If so, I beseech you to be expeditious ; for salvation is a work, that I hold, cannot be perfected too soon. But I sincerely hope, that they are better founded than what you advance, (page 36.) "But it is nowhere said that the person who is characterised by the title of *Messiah*, should be descended from David, but only that *prince* under whom you are to enjoy your temporal prosperity."

This distinction of yours, I must tell you sincerely, is fully fallacious ; for no such distinction is to be met with in the *Hebrew* language ; and the word *Masbeath* in that language, denotes no more, than simply "the anointed ; and which is used to "the Kings, or High Priest ; it also denotes "to anoint," &c. But is never used to denote the person, denominated the "Messiah ;" for that has only obtained, by means of the Chaldee paraphrasts ; who in translating those words in scripture, that denoted the *prince*, under whom we are to enjoy our temporal prosperity, rendered them into Chaldee *Mashecaw*, the anointed ; because, the said prince is every where described, as descending from David, and consequently, will be the anointed king that is to reign over the Jewish nation, after their restoration. Hence

you may clearly perceive, from what source the word Messiah arose, and that the person so denominated, and the *prince* under whom we are to enjoy our prosperity, (according to your hypothesis) are one and the same person; consequently, the distinction used by you, is a mere fallacy.

That you may be fully convinced of the truth of what I have advanced, I will give you an instance or two (out of the many that I could produce) in support of it; for I scorn to assert, what I cannot prove.

“And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a branch shall grow out of his roots; Isa. xi. 1.

The Cha.

And there shall come forth a KING from the children of Jesse, and a MESSIAH from his childrens' children shall grow. Targum, Jonathan. Ibid.

Again.

“The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid, &c. Ibid. 6.

The Cha.

In the days of the MESSIAH of Israel, peace shall be great “in the earth,” and the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard with the kid. Targum, Jonathan. Ibid.

I could say much more in support of what I have advanced, but these I think, are sufficient to convince a philosopher of such candid and liberal sentiments, as you are known to possess, in so eminent a degree. I therefore, have no doubt, but that you will either retract what you have advanced on this point, or support it by substantial proofs; either of which, I shall be happy to see. With the highest sentiments of sincerity and respect, I remain,

SIR,

Yours, &c:

D. LEVI.

TO THE READER.

It may not be amiss for me just to observe, at the close of this volume, that Dr. Priestley, in his Letters to the Jews, advances sentiments, which do not accord with those of many professed Christians notwithstanding it must, be acknowledged that he has very ably and conclusively proved that Jesus was the Messiah promised and foretold by the prophets, and in opposition to infidelity, he has written well in support of christianity.

The character* of Dr. Priestley is so well established, that no scholar, or candid person acquainted with it can doubt his sincerity, and it is probable the same may be said with regard to the sincerity of Levi. But it does not belong to me to say any thing for or against their arguments, but leave the reader to judge for himself.

If there should be another edition of this work, during my life, it is probable the letters of Priestley and Levi, will be omitted, and the other subjects will be more fully treated, particularly the dispersion of the Jews, which will be more interesting, and also new to most readers, as I have remarked in the preface, that this part of history has been heretofore only in large and expensive books, (at least I do not recollect to have seen, or heard of its being compiled, as many other parts of history have been in a small or, single volume,) and therefore it has been inaccessible to many readers to whom it would be very edifying and interesting. It is certainly well worthy of the perusal of all classes of people, not only on account of the many singular and wonderful events recorded, but as there is no history which so clearly evinces the fulfilment of prophecy. And we may add that this, with that of christian persecution, (see appendix page 241,) there is no part of history demonstrates more fully the effect of bigotry, prejudice and intolerance, (and in which more cruelty is to be seen) which when compared with their opposites, charity, liberality, love, tenderness and kindness; or in other words doing as each one would wish to be done by: there can be no greater contrast, and sufficient, one might suppose to cause every reader who possesses any sensibility to detest

* It is recorded of Priestley that "Not even malice itself could ever fix a stain on his character, or impeach his integrity. He wrote and published abundance on various subjects, (his history of electricity, is called his great work, which is in quarto and upwards of 700 pages,) and it is a matter of doubt whether there ever was a man that exceeded him in learning and such universal information. His intellectual powers continued unimpaired to the last. He died in Northumberland, Pennsylvania, on the 9th of February 1804, aged nearly 71, with so much calmness that his death was almost unobserved by all present, after having repeatedly expressed his confidence of rising and meeting his friends in a better world. His last words were "farewell till the morning of the resurrection."

and abhor the one, and highly esteem, admire and practice the other. Should this publication have this, greatly to be desired effect, even if only in a small degree, the writer would have the satisfactory reflection, that he has been instrumental in contributing to the benefit of his fellow creatures, and of having lived to do some good in the world, without doing which, in some respects, he considers life a mere blank.

ERRATA.

Page 17, Mark ch. 23, read 13.

17, line 15 from bottom, for weightiest read *weightly*.

25, line 10, the inverted commas, or quotations after Britain, should be after the word "death," at the end of the paragraph, or line 24.

33, line 3 of the note, for succeeding read *proceeding*.

107, line 3, for connected read *directed*.

127, first line, head of the chapter, after eighth century, read *ninth*.

219, The quotations should have been at the beginning of the second line from the bottom, and at the end of the paragraph, page 220, after "personage".

226, line 13 from the top, for shall meet, read *shall be meat*.

236, line 13 from the top, for love read *law*, and line 17 from Jerusalem, read after Lord in the 15th line, thus, the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.

There are a few more mistakes in printing, but not of sufficient importance to be noticed here.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The Author of the foregoing history, has lately issued proposals for Publishing by Subscription, another Edition of his History of that most singular Society of people called Shakers, with a number of additional pages, containing some things that were omitted in the first, and that have transpired since. And the Author is encouraged to publish another edition, as there has been but few books more read, and so generally approved of as the first edition of this work; and several writers, reviewers, and periodical publications, have respectfully noticed it, but the three following extracts may suffice, the others being of the same import.

An Extract from a celebrated Literary Work, published in Philadelphia, entitled, The Port Folio, or, Monthly Magazine, No. for October, 1812, Volume 8. -

"Among the variety of religious sects with which our country abounds, none appears more worthy of investigation than the society which is the subject of the volume before us; on account of their peculiar opinions, and extraordinary mode of worship; it was

from motives of literary curiosity we sought after the History of Mr. Brown, and the very curious information which it contains will exempt it from the neglect and inattention with which we are disposed to treat every species of religious controversy.

—“ We should do injustice to the author, if we did not say, that no marks of intemperance or passion are visible in his narration : he seems, on the contrary, to enquire anxiously after truth, to use all possible means of enlightening himself on the important subjects of his doubts ; and even, after his separation from the society, though he cannot adopt their principles, he renders justice to the good order and decency of their conduct, their exemplary charity, and the kind treatment which he experienced from the body of their community : These circumstances strongly recommend his narrative.

“ The author's own experience is related with great accuracy, and furnishes an excellent proof into what whimsies a heated imagination may lead the most sensible and sober men.

“ Totally ignorant, as we are of the author, we do not hesitate to say, that he writes and acts like a very-sober, good sort of a man. There is even an interesting simplicity displayed in his earnest endeavours to learn the doctrines of the sect ; and he leaves nothing untried ; no solitary meditations, no painful conferences, to reconcile them to his ideas of reason.

“ The contents of this volume are of a nature to excite a lively interest with regard to so extraordinary a sect,” &c.

An Extract from the 3d vol. of the Travels of the celebrated Dr. Dwight, President of Yale College.

“ THOMAS BROWN's account, &c. of the Shakers, is written with a commendable spirit of moderation, and with strong appearances of integrity, and with a respectable share of good sense and information.

“ He was not sufficiently enthusiastic as to yield his faith ultimately, without conviction, or against the dictates of his own judgment ; for this reason only he was dismissed.—They were very desirous to retain him, but he had too much sense, integrity and independence, to become a victim to the doctrines of implicit faith and passive obedience.—They wrote a letter to him, partly argumentative, and partly contemptuous, which they evidently hoped would discourage him from publishing his work. To this he made a reply with moderation, and with vigor and good sense, and with the same, he proceeded to execute his design.

“ During the time he belonged to the society, he appears to have examined every thing which he saw and heard relating to the Shakers, their doctrines, their practice, their origin, and their progress, with great care and candour, and the result of his investigations he has given to the world in this book.”

Extract from Professor Silliman's tour from Hartford to Quebec.

“ An account of the people called Shakers, &c. by Mr. Thomas Brown, is probably one of the best that has been published ; it has every appearance of being written with candor and truth, and exhibits considerable ability.”

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